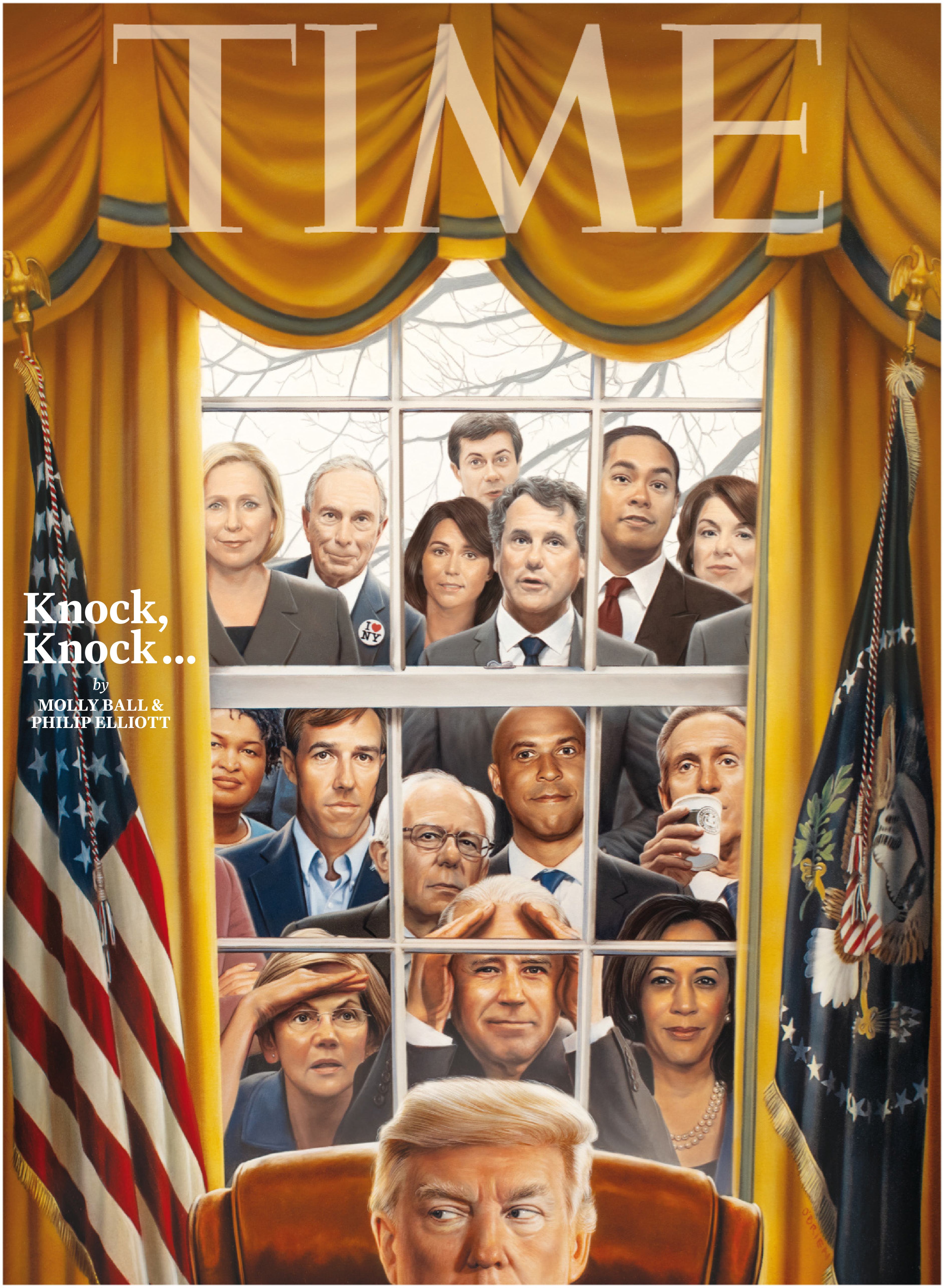
MARCH 4, 2019

TIME



Knock, Knock…

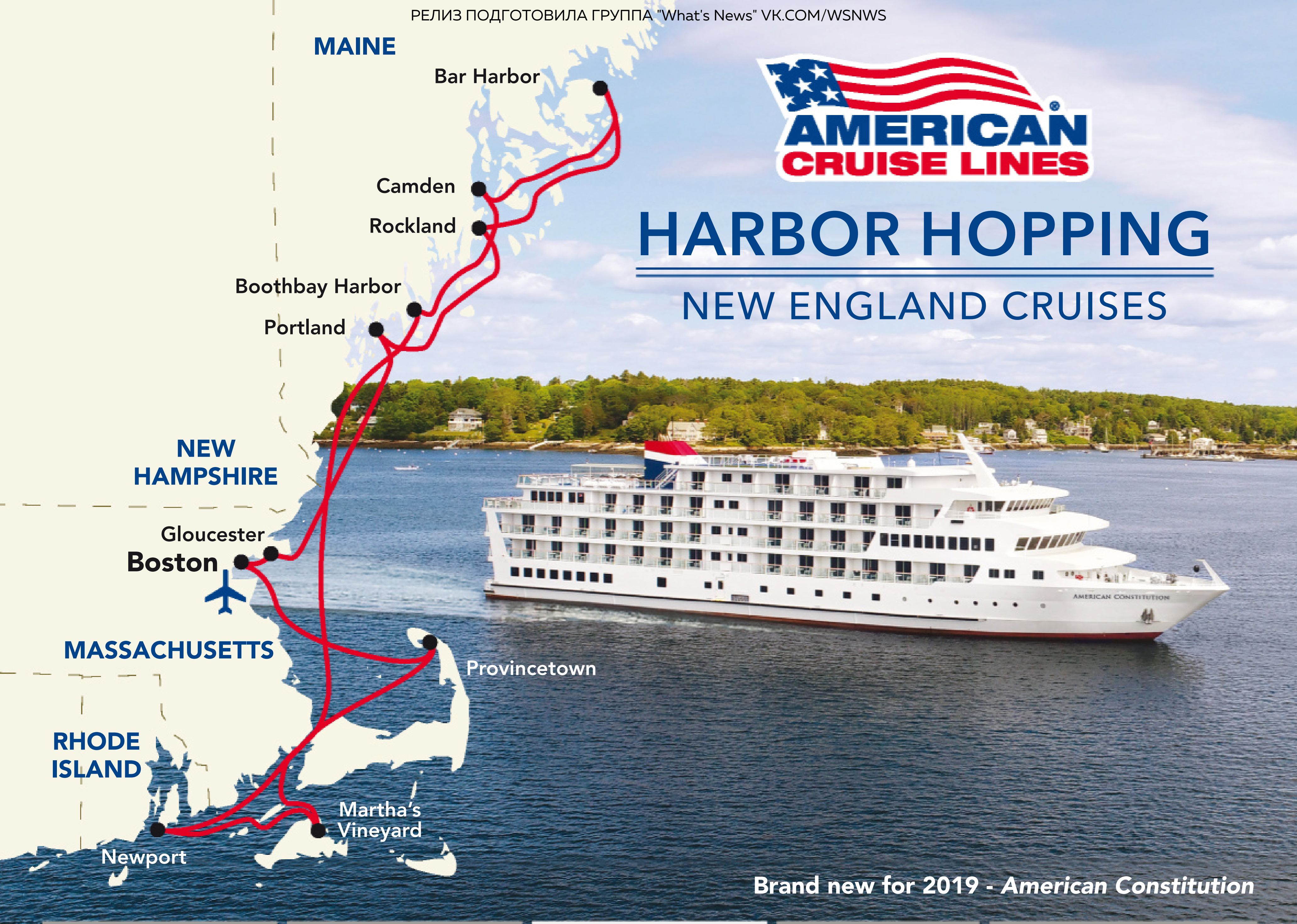
by
MOLLY BALL &
PHILIP ELLIOTT

time.com

AMERICAN CRUISE LINES

HARBOR HOPPING

NEW ENGLAND CRUISES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Camden
Rockland
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Krystal Bullen, 36, at her home near Pilliga, New South Wales, Australia; the region's punishing drought devastated her family's farm

Photograph by Adam Ferguson for TIME

ON THE COVER:
Illustration by Tim O'Brien for TIME

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Conversation

TIME
THE ART OF OPTIMISM
TIME
THE ART OF OPTIMISM

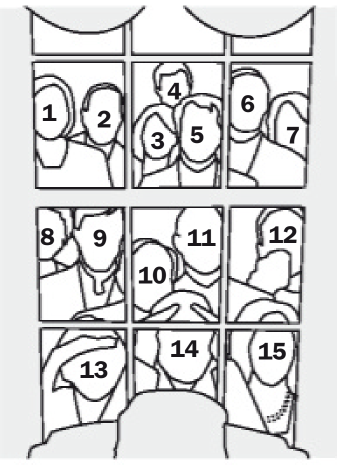
WHAT YOU SAID ABOUT …

THE ART OF OPTIMISM TIME's Feb. 18–25 Optimists issue, which showcased artists and was guest-edited by filmmaker Ava DuVernay, struck readers like Gwen Keys Hitt of Collins, Miss., as "sorely needed." Jerry Allen of North Fort Myers, Fla., found himself "becoming hopeful" that pessimism and polarization "may not be as endemic as the creativity of the human mind." Artist Clare Law of Cornwall, England, wrote that the issue reflected her hope that her own work would make "someone smile and feel connected." Others, however, worried that emphasizing optimism can backfire. "A pessimist complains about the weather. The optimist knows it will change," wrote Chuck Woolery of Rockville, Md. "The realist tacks the sails."

> *'Just as a rising tide lifts all boats, this journalism uplifts humanity.'*
>
> MICHELLE GOODRICH, Charlottesville, Va.

THE RISE OF HEALTHIER PROTEINS Readers ate up Jamie Ducharme's Jan. 28 article about the health and ecological benefits of subbing out some red meat with protein-rich plants. "With many studies linking excessive red meat to chronic diseases, it is time to think of alternatives for a healthier lifestyle and a cleaner environment," tweeted @MaxZeidenberg. John Caton of Odenton, Md., thought the story should have covered dairy proteins too, but Bob Reynolds of Lafayette, La., hoped it would generally "motivate a few more people to consider the impact of the food they place on their plates."

> *'Refreshing and timely insight into fighting climate change with diet change.'*
>
> LORELLE SHEA, Philadelphia



ON THE COVER The left-leaning politicos who have considered or declared a 2020 bid, shown peering behind Donald Trump in the Oval Office, are: **1.** Sen. Kirsten Gillibrand (N.Y.); **2.** Former New York mayor Michael Bloomberg; **3.** Rep. Tulsi Gabbard (Hawaii); **4.** South Bend, Ind., Mayor Pete Buttigieg; **5.** Sen. Sherrod Brown (Ohio); **6.** Former HUD chief Julián Castro; **7.** Sen. Amy Klobuchar (Minn.); **8.** Former Ga. house minority leader Stacey Abrams; **9.** Former Rep. Beto O'Rourke (Texas); **10.** Sen. Bernie Sanders (Vt.); **11.** Sen. Cory Booker (N.J.); **12.** Former Starbucks CEO Howard Schultz; **13.** Sen. Elizabeth Warren (Mass.); **14.** Former VP Joe Biden; **15.** Sen. Kamala Harris (Calif.)

MISSING HISTORY See never-before-published images of a segregated all-black U.S. Navy unit, by the late Wayne Miller of Magnum Photos, at **time.com/wayne-miller.** Above, naval supply depot laborers on Guam in 1945.

COVER OF RECORD On Feb. 5, the American Society of Magazine Editors named TIME's Oct. 15, 2018, issue, featuring John Mavroudis' illustration of Christine Blasey Ford, as the magazine Cover of the Year.

SETTING THE RECORD STRAIGHT ▸ In the Feb. 18–25 issue, a profile of Sandra Lee misstated her birthplace. She was born in California. In the Jan. 28 issue, "The Rise of Healthier Proteins" misstated the type of greenhouse-gas emissions that could be reduced by 25% by replacing beef with other proteins in human diets. The figure refers to food-related greenhouse-gas emissions.

TALK TO US

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BLACK HISTORY: WAYNE MILLER—MAGNUM PHOTOS

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Men like you and I are not just part of the gender equality conversation, we can be part of the solution. I am one of billions who believe that everyone is born free and equal.

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HeForShe

For the Record

‘I cannot remain in a party that I have come to the sickening conclusion is institutionally anti-Semitic.’

LUCIANA BERGER, one of seven members of the U.K. Parliament who left the Labour Party on Feb. 18 over party leader Jeremy Corbyn’s handling of Brexit negotiations and prejudice within the party

‘Question is, how do the Networks get away with these total Republican hit jobs without retribution?’

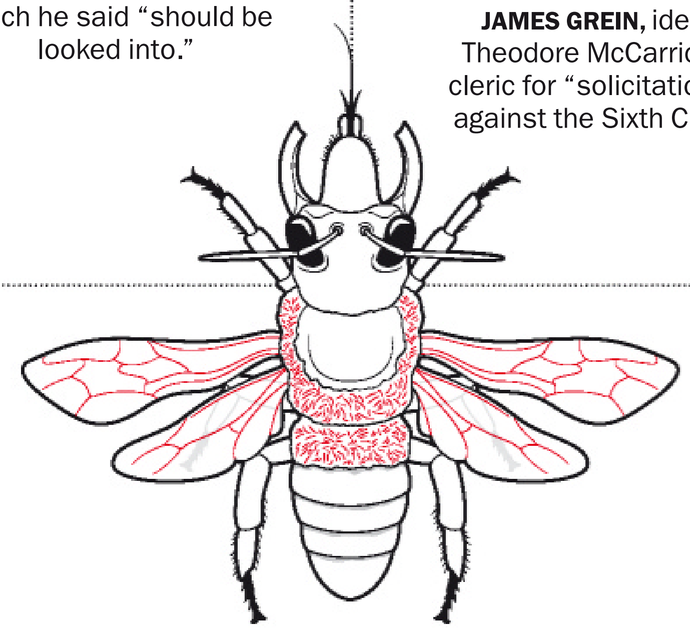
DONALD TRUMP, U.S. President, reacting on Twitter to *Saturday Night Live,* which he said “should be looked into.”

‘CORPORATIONS CAN’T IGNORE RISING ANGER OVER ECONOMIC INEQUALITY.’

BILL DE BLASIO, mayor of New York City, after Amazon canceled plans to build a second headquarters there; in a New York *Times* op-ed, de Blasio accused Amazon of not trying hard enough to work with local activists who voiced concerns about the city’s deal with the company

‘Today I am happy that the Pope believed me.’

JAMES GREIN, identified as a victim of abuse by ex-Cardinal Theodore McCarrick, after the Vatican defrocked the powerful cleric for “solicitation in the Sacrament of Confession, and sins against the Sixth Commandment with minors and with adults.”



2.5

Estimated wingspan, in inches, of Wallace’s giant bee, the world’s largest bee; scientists in Indonesia recently rediscovered the species, which hadn’t been seen since 1981

‘It really broke my heart to see where the sport was.’

LI LI LEUNG, former gymnast and the new president of USA Gymnastics; she takes over the organization after its fumbling response to the sexual-abuse conviction of former team doctor Larry Nassar

1.58°F

Average amount by which global January temperatures were above average this year—which ties the third highest such value on record

Rick Perry
House Dems to probe Energy Secretary’s role in nuclear sales pitches to Saudis

BAD WEEK
GOOD WEEK

Katy Perry
The pop star got engaged to actor Orlando Bloom

ILLUSTRATIONS BY BROWN BIRD DESIGN FOR TIME

SOURCES: AP; GLOBAL WILDLIFE CONSERVATION; NEW YORK TIMES; NOAA; PEOPLE

The Brief

POWER PLAY Vladimir Putin, center, watches the launch of a new Russian hypersonic missile system on Dec. 26

INSIDE

NATIONS DEBATE WHAT TO DO WITH THEIR CITIZENS WHO JOINED ISIS

TRUMP'S NATIONAL EMERGENCY FACES LEGAL AND LEGISLATIVE CHALLENGES

THE ARREST OF JOURNALIST MARIA RESSA SHINES A LIGHT ON PRECARIOUS PRESS FREEDOM

PHOTOGRAPH BY MIKHAIL KLIMENTYEV

WORLD

The U.S.-Europe rift brings nuclear risks

By Simon Shuster/Munich

IT'S BEEN THE STUFF OF NIGHTMARES EVER SINCE the Cold War: U.S. officers detect a Russian missile taking flight, and they have just a few minutes to counsel the President on how to react. Under the treaties that govern nuclear arms, those officers have the information they need to help make the right call—and to avoid such scenarios from arising in the first place. But these safeguards are now in jeopardy.

Two of the treaties that buttress the world's post–Cold War security architecture—setting strict limits and enforcing transparency on both the U.S. and Russian arsenals—are in the process of unraveling. The Trump Administration said Feb. 1 that it would withdraw the U.S. from the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty, on the grounds that Russia had been violating it for years. In 2021, a separate treaty that governs long-range nuclear missiles, known as New START, is due to expire. Renewing it would likely take years of talks. But so far, "we have not been offered any meaningful consultations," Russian Foreign Minister Sergei Lavrov told an annual security summit on Feb. 16 in Munich. If talks don't begin soon, most experts believe the treaty will lapse with nothing to replace it.

'We sit there in the middle with the result.'

ANGELA MERKEL, on the U.S. move to scrap the INF treaty without consulting Europe

The unwinding of these agreements comes amid a global buildup of arms. The U.S. and Russia are racing to develop more compact and precision-guided nuclear missiles. China shows little interest in negotiating curbs on its own fast-advancing arsenal. And the Middle East is edging toward an arms race of its own, especially after the Trump Administration pulled out of a deal to stop Iran's nuclear-weapons program last year. According to the analytics firm Jane's by IHS Markit, arms spending in the Gulf has risen by 25% since 2013, to an estimated $103 billion this year.

But the shifting balance between nuclear states should be of most concern, says François Heisbourg, a military expert who served as an adviser to the French Defense Ministry during the Cold War. Without the rules of transparency written into the nuclear treaties between the U.S. and Russia, he says, both sides would become blind to each other's nuclear arsenals. For military strategists, that has one disturbing consequence, Heisbourg says: "Treat every crisis as having full-blown nuclear potential."

The world already has no shortage of crises with room for nuclear miscalculation, especially involving Russia. In the Middle East, Africa, Eastern Europe and even the Arctic, Russian forces are operating in close proximity to those of the U.S. and its allies. They sometimes clash, as when Turkey shot down a Russian fighter jet in 2015, or when Russian mercenaries attacked U.S. Marines last year near a gas plant in Syria.

What makes such skirmishes even more dangerous is the growing strength and reach of Russia's military. In her forthcoming book on the subject, Bettina Renz, an associate professor at the University of Nottingham, concludes that Russia's "stocks of weaponry have been comprehensively replenished" over the past decade or so. And on Feb. 20, in a major public address, Vladimir Putin made it clear the growth is unlikely to stop. The U.S. has the right to pull out of treaties, he warned, but "let them count the speed and the range of the weapons systems we are developing."

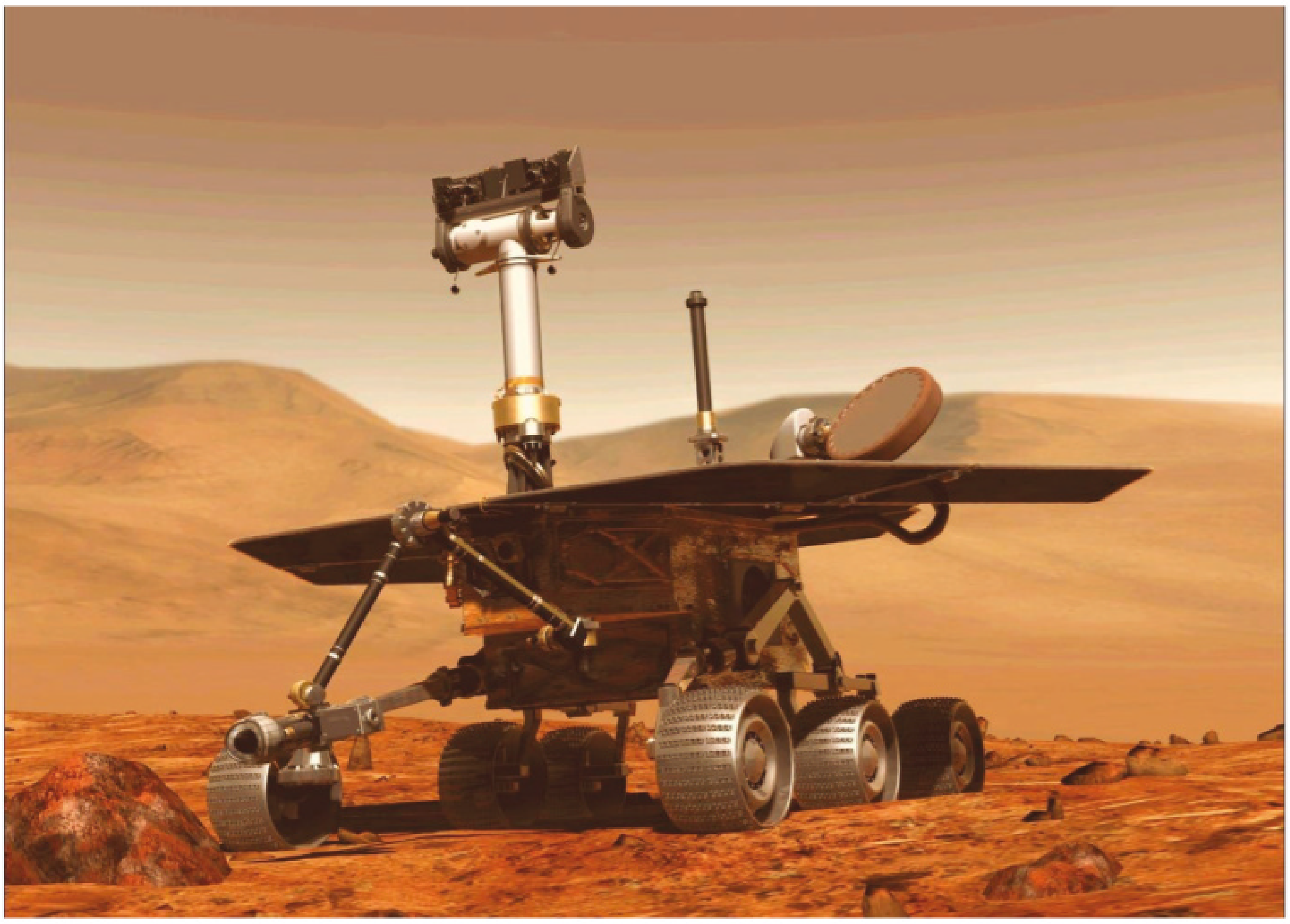
DURING THE COLD WAR, such threats from the East typically would have pushed the West to develop a joint response. That no longer seems to be the case. The loss of trust between the U.S. and Europe was especially palpable at this year's Munich summit, a traditional show of mutual reassurance among NATO allies. In her speech to the summit, German Chancellor Angela Merkel complained that the U.S. decision to scrap the INF treaty was made without consulting Europe, even though the treaty concerns Europe's security most of all. "We sit there in the middle with the result," Merkel said. Minutes later, when Vice President Mike Pence delivered a greeting from his boss, President Donald Trump, the room full of European diplomats responded with stony silence.

Their chief concern at the summit, at least when it comes to nuclear security, was the U.S. move in May to pull out of the deal with Iran. That deal took nearly a decade to negotiate, and it committed the Islamic Republic in 2015 to halt its nuclear-weapons program. Yet despite U.S. intelligence agencies reporting the deal was working, the Trump Administration scrapped it, imposing new sanctions against Iran and pressuring European allies to do the same. Germany, France and the U.K. have so far refused.

"We are not on the same page with our allies on any of this," says Ernest Moniz, the former U.S. Energy Secretary, who was one of the lead U.S. negotiators of the Iran deal. Along with 43 other diplomats and experts from the U.S., Russia and Europe, Moniz issued a statement on Feb. 14 calling for dialogue between the world's nuclear powers. Among its appeals was for nations to "begin the process of rebuilding trust."

That process was hard enough during the nuclear standoff of the Cold War. It's even harder now that China, Saudi Arabia, the UAE and others are arming up. But without the trust to begin negotiations, the world's system of nuclear checks and balances will continue unraveling, one treaty at a time.

OPENING PAGE: RUSSIAN PRESIDENTIAL PRESS AND INFORMATION OFFICE/TASS/GETTY IMAGES; THESE PAGES: MERKEL: CHRISTOF STACHE—AFP/GETTY IMAGES; ROVER: NASA/AFP/GETTY IMAGES



ROVER AND OUT NASA's Opportunity rover was designed to last just three months. But on Feb. 13, when the agency announced its demise, 15 years had passed since its arrival on Mars—making Opportunity the longest-serving robot ever sent to another planet. Seen in a rendering above, Opportunity gave scientists an unprecedented closeup view of the Red Planet. But, after months of silence following a dust storm last June, the rover failed to respond to NASA's final call: a broadcast of Billie Holiday's "I'll Be Seeing You."

THE BULLETIN

Europe grapples with taking back citizens who joined ISIS

EUROPEAN OFFICIALS HAD A MIXED reaction to President Donald Trump's tweet on Feb. 16 asking Britain, France, Germany and others to take back "over 800 ISIS fighters" whom U.S.-backed forces captured in Syria. The alternative, he warned, is that "we will be forced to release them." The demand added to an already tense debate about how to deal with European citizens who fought for ISIS, as well as their wives and children.

CALIPHATE COLLAPSE The U.S.-backed Syrian Democratic Forces (SDF) says ISIS-controlled territory, which once spanned an area the size of Britain, has shrunk to a single enclave in a village near the Iraqi border—and, despite analysts' warnings that the group still poses a threat, the U.S. is planning to pull its troops from Syria. Roughly a third of the estimated 6,000 Western European nationals who joined the militant group in Syria and Iraq have already returned home, but the SDF says it has detained at least 800 foreign fighters of nearly 50 nationalities and does not have the capacity to put them on trial.

ENEMIES OF THE STATE Most E.U. countries have not committed to repatriating ISIS returnees. On Feb. 19, Britain moved to revoke the citizenship of Shamima Begum, who traveled to Syria to marry an ISIS fighter at age 15 and has begged to return with her newborn son. France has said it would take back militants on a "case by case" basis; Germany has pledged to put foreign fighters on trial, while saying repatriation would be "extremely difficult."

NATIONAL RESPONSIBILITY This situation raises questions over the legality of leaving citizens stateless, the ethics of abandoning children born in the caliphate and the cost of repatriating returnees. In the U.K., a former army chief has said treating fighters fairly would help prevent others being radicalized, but a petition calling for a ban on ISIS members' returning garnered half a million signatures by Feb. 20. Back in Syria, the SDF warns that the camps of ISIS detainees represent a "time bomb." Defusing it will require cooperation from leaders around the world. —JOSEPH HINCKS

NEWS TICKER

North Carolina finds 'ballot scheme'

Investigators found November's Ninth Congressional District election in North Carolina involved a **"coordinated, unlawful and substantially resourced absentee ballot scheme"** to help Republican candidate Mark Harris. The state election board must decide whether to certify the results or call a new election.

Accusations after Kashmir attack

Following a **suicide bombing that killed at least 40 Indian paramilitaries in Kashmir** on Feb. 14, India accused Pakistan of having a "direct hand" in the attack and of sheltering the militants responsible. Pakistani Prime Minister Imran Khan denied the charge and warned that Pakistan "will retaliate" against any Indian military action.

Shooting suspect had illegal gun

Five people were killed in a workplace shooting in Aurora, Ill., on Feb. 15. The shooter, who was killed by police, had a previous felony conviction for beating a girlfriend with a baseball bat—a record that **should have prevented him from legally owning a gun** in the state.

POSTCARD

In Rhode Island, restoring voter trust gets a practice run

AS RHODE ISLAND SECRETARY OF STATE Nellie Gorbea leaned over a plastic table to roll a 10-sided die one morning in January, the crowd in the Providence warehouse cheered uproariously. The mood was festive, but the group's work was serious.

After 19 randomly selected others did the same, the number generated by their rolls was used to help pick ballots that had been cast in last November's midterm elections. Those ballots were then checked as part of a review known as a risk-limiting audit (RLA), which uses statistics to see whether votes were counted correctly—a final fail-safe against a hacked election, all done in public view. "Democracy and elections are only as good as whether people trust them or not," Gorbea tells TIME.

With the U.S. election system under greater threat than it has been in decades, experts say this kind of audit is critical to thwarting attempts to meddle with American democracy. Even with the knowledge that Russian agents tested system vulnerabilities in 2016, many states still use outdated voting equipment, leaving major questions about whether the vote is as secure as it needs to be for 2020.

Amid this uncertainty, Rhode Island is pioneering the RLA as a way to protect its results. The audit can't prevent hackers from accessing votes, but it can combat the erosion of trust that's been building around elections for years, says Mark Lindeman, an election auditing expert at Verified Voting.

Back in Providence, a coalition of election staffers, advocacy groups, academics and concerned citizens volunteered their time to protect against that doubt. Over the course of two days, they manually counted ballots—chosen by the dice rolls and an algorithm—for three kinds of risk-limiting audits to see which type worked best for them. Colorado actually conducted the first statewide RLA in 2017, but it votes largely by mail; Rhode Island passed a law requiring RLAs that year, and when it conducts its real audit in 2020, it will be the first state to do so using ballots cast in local precincts. Several localities in states from California to Virginia are also forging ahead with new experiments aimed at election security.

At the end of Rhode Island's tests, two of the three audit methods were successful, providing strong statistical evidence confirming reported election results. That was just fine for a first test for Rhode Island officials, who hope they can help convince other states that RLAs are feasible and necessary. "I'm optimistic that if Rhode Island is successful in proving that a precinct-based voting system can be efficiently audited," says John Marion, executive director of Common Cause Rhode Island, who served as the initial force behind the state's audit requirement, "that other states with similar systems will take the leap."

—ABIGAIL ABRAMS/PROVIDENCE

BUSINESS

Property writes

The owner of an Illinois Chimera's Comics announced plans in February to give the shop to the winner of an essay contest. Here, other unusual writing-prize offers. —*Billy Perrigo*

FARMING FLOP
In 2015, an Alabama couple decided to hold an essay contest with a $150 entry fee after failing to sell their goat farm for its $345,000 asking price. But the contest fell through after not enough people entered.

GOOD INNINGS
A married couple took home the keys to a Maine inn in 2015 after winning an essay contest held by its previous owner. Other entrants complained the handover was rigged, but law enforcement found no impropriety.

WRITE-OFF
In 2017, a family-run restaurant in Montana was offered as the prize in an essay competition. The owners hoped that 3,333 people would pay $150 each to enter. In the end, it was canceled; only 30 people wrote in.

LAKE LOTTERY
In January, a Canadian woman said she would use an essay contest to pass on her $1.7 million lakefront home—provided she receives enough applications, at $25 each, to cover the home's cost.

DIED

Lee Radziwill
Tastemaker

WHEN JOHN F. KENNEDY was assassinated in 1963, Lee Radziwill rushed to help her older sister, Jackie, as the First Lady dealt with her husband's death. The role was familiar: Radziwill, who died at 85 on Feb. 15, spent much of her life in the shadow of her sister. But that wasn't her whole story.

Known for her role in shaping Jackie's signature style, Radziwill established herself as a fashion icon in her own right. She pursued creative ventures ranging from acting to interior design, and for 15 years, she was also a princess—before her divorce from her second husband, Prince Stanisław Albrecht Radziwill, in 1974.

The sisters' relationship grew strained after Jackie married Aristotle Onassis, whom Radziwill had been involved with earlier. But Radziwill remained a society mainstay, rubbing shoulders with the likes of Andy Warhol and Truman Capote. By the end of her life, Radziwill had cemented a reputation as a trendsetter, a regular attendee at New York Fashion Week and other events. Speaking to *T* magazine in 2013, she said, "If I wasn't curious, I wouldn't want to live." —WILDER DAVIES

RADZIWILL: REG BURKETT—EXPRESS/HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES; LAGERFELD: SEBASTIEN MICKE—PARIS MATCH/CONTOUR BY GETTY IMAGES

Milestones

Lagerfeld in Paris in 2009 with models wearing his work for Chanel

DIED

Karl Lagerfeld

Fashion firebrand

HUMANS WHO MAKE BEAUTIFUL THINGS are not always beautiful people, at least not in the way we'd like them to be. But if Karl Lagerfeld, who died on Feb. 19 at 85, wasn't always kind—he was well known for his wicked, sometimes cruel quips—he was so exquisitely distinctive, as a personality and as a designer, that ignoring him was impossible.

Born to an affluent German family, Lagerfeld grew up on a lavish estate near the Danish border, though his childhood wasn't necessarily easy: he spoke often, with a kind of tempered affection, of his tyrannical mother. The young Lagerfeld began his career as an assistant to couturier Pierre Balmain, in 1955, eventually moving on to design for Jean Patou, Chloé and Fendi, where he served as creative director until his death.

But the designer's longest and most famous association is with the house of Chanel, which he joined in 1983. Coco Chanel had revolutionized fashion by introducing easy-fitting but impeccably constructed garments that freed women from constriction, but by the 1970s, even her tastefully classic shapes had become stale. Lagerfeld swooped in like wind through an open window. His clothes were fresh and invigorating, season after season, even as they maintained proper respect for his forebear: he'd pair her trademark supple tweeds with biker jackets, or fashion her staid bouclé into swingy ponchos, fusing tradition with glamorous modernity.

Lagerfeld's signature look—stiff Victorian shirt collar, dark glasses, steel silver ponytail—was itself an extreme, dazzling work of invention. But where's the line between self-caricature and irreproducible originality? Lagerfeld walked it like a dancer. His steps can never be duplicated.

—STEPHANIE ZACHAREK

DIED

John Dingell Jr.

Congressional constant

By Jennifer Granholm

JOHN DINGELL OF MICHIGAN was the longest-serving member of Congress—ever. But he never cared too much about breaking records. Instead, he cared about what he did with that record-breaking time. And what a doer he was.

The heart of this fearless lion of Congress stopped beating at 92 years on Feb. 7. During his 59 years in the House, it beat through what he called his proudest vote, for the 1964 Civil Rights Act. It beat through his many votes to protect our air, our water and our land. It beat through his gaveling Medicare into passage. His cause was working people; his downriver district was braided with autoworkers, Catholics and conservationists, lovers of Polish *paczki,* the University of Michigan and the Democratic Party. He traversed its streets and met its residents even as a boy, campaigning for his father, who served before him.

John loved the outdoors, hunting, his country, his fellow veterans and, especially after his 2015 retirement, even Twitter. But above all, his heart beat for his wife, "the lovely Deborah." Just as John succeeded his father, she has succeeded him. To continue his fight is the greatest tribute she could offer. He would admonish us not to mourn for him; he would exhort us instead to *do*.

Granholm was governor of Michigan from 2003 to 2011; she is currently a professor at the University of California, Berkeley, Goldman School of Public Policy

NEWS TICKER

Nicaragua activists get 200 years

Nicaragua **sentenced two opposition leaders to more than 200 years in prison** on Feb. 19. A judge said the men plotted to kill four police officers and a teacher during antigovernment protests in the town of Morrito in July, despite their being 125 miles away at the time. Protesters say the five died in a shootout started by police.

Senate confirms William Barr as A.G.

Senators voted 54 to 45, largely along party lines, to confirm William Barr as U.S. Attorney General on Feb. 14. As head of the Justice Department, **he will now oversee the special counsel's investigation** into links between Russia and President Trump's campaign in 2016.

France protests anti-Semitism

Tens of thousands of people, including high-profile politicians, joined marches in cities across France on Feb. 19 to **denounce a recent spike in anti-Semitic incidents.** The night before the rally, nearly 100 graves at a Jewish cemetery in Alsace were desecrated with blue swastikas.

WHITE HOUSE

Trump's emergency declaration will be challenged in court

IT DIDN'T TAKE LONG FOR PRESIDENT Trump's Feb. 15 declaration of a national emergency to face its own crisis. Within days, an array of groups sued to block Trump's effort to divert congressionally appropriated money to build a wall on the U.S.'s southern border. Most argued that Trump's move violates Congress's constitutional power over the federal purse. But the diversity of plaintiffs, from landowners to states to environmentalists, shows how broad a challenge Trump's unilateral and largely unprecedented action faces.

The highest-profile suit was brought by 16 states, including two on the border, California and New Mexico. It argues that Trump's declaration could hurt local economies and military bases by diverting funds to build a border wall. The suit also contends that reallocating federal counternarcotics funds toward wall construction would endanger residents. Another set of suits, filed on behalf of property owners whose land would be bisected or damaged by the construction of a border wall, raises questions of privacy and eminent domain. A third, brought by environmental organizations, contends that the order would violate wildlife-protection laws.

The biggest blow may be yet to come. Members of Congress can vote to override the President's emergency declaration. Some Senate Republicans appear ready to vote against Trump, though not enough to override a veto. Another option: the Democratic-led House could sue the President for overstepping his constitutional authority. That would be rare but not without precedent. In 2014, the House, then controlled by Republicans, alleged in court that President Obama had abused his presidential powers in implementing the Affordable Care Act. Democrats may relish the irony of an anti-Trump court victory built on a legal foundation laid by Tea Party Republicans.

Trump is hardly surprised by the court filings, though, and is apparently banking on the Supreme Court for eventual vindication against all his challengers. "We will possibly get a bad ruling, and then we'll get another bad ruling," he said after announcing the decision in the Rose Garden. In the end, though, he said, "hopefully, we'll get a fair shake, and we'll win in the Supreme Court."

—TESSA BERENSON

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Activists rally near one of Trump's New York properties after he declared a national emergency

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THE GUARDIANS

The message behind Maria Ressa's 'cyberlibel' arrest

By Katie Reilly

MARIA RESSA SPENT NEW YEAR'S EVE IN TIMES SQUARE, a guest of honor at a celebration of the free press. Little more than a month later, the Filipina journalist spent the night in a Manila jail over a "cyberlibel" charge brought by the government against her as executive editor of the news site Rappler.

Human-rights and journalism organizations have condemned the charge—Amnesty International called it "brazenly politically motivated"—and warned that Ressa's arrest marks an escalation of Philippine President Rodrigo Duterte's crackdown on the press. The arrest also comes amid growing concern about the state of press freedom globally. More than 250 journalists worldwide were imprisoned last year, per the Committee to Protect Journalists, and those like Ressa who risk their safety and lives to do that work were named the Guardians, TIME's 2018 Person of the Year.

"The government is sending a very clear message—not just to me or to Rappler or to journalists. It's to the entire Philippines. And that message is: they're very powerful, be silent and follow, or you're going to be next," Ressa, who has dismissed the charge as "ludicrous," tells TIME. "We can't be silent now, especially if we're under threat."

The charge, which falls under the Cybercrime Prevention Act, stems from a May 2012 Rappler article reporting that businessman Wilfredo Keng was under surveillance relating to illegal drugs and human trafficking—a story published months before the act made libel punishable by up to 12 years in jail. (Keng denies the allegation.) Ressa sees the libel charge, one of several charges she now faces, as the latest attempt to stop the site from reporting on the extrajudicial killings of Duterte's drug war—a view reinforced by the circumstances of her arrest. She spent one night in jail on Feb. 13 after being arrested in Rappler's office that evening, late enough for her to believe she was purposefully prevented from posting bail before courts closed. "I realized that's their point. They wanted me to go through being arrested," Ressa says. "They wanted me to feel their power."

"The world knows Maria Ressa's name, so this sort of takes it up to a new level," says Janet Steele, director of the Institute for Public Diplomacy and Global Communication at George Washington University, who studies journalism in Southeast Asia. "This sends a really bad signal to all other journalists," she says, warning that it will have a "terrible chilling effect."

PERSON of the YEAR
TIME
THE GUARDIANS

Ressa—above on Feb. 14 at a Manila court—was among the journalists on TIME's 2018 Person of the Year covers

RESSA FEARS THE CHILL has already set in. Days after her arrest, the *Philippine Star* removed a 2002 story about Keng from its website. In a statement, the *Star* said "the takedown was seen as a prudent course of action" amid uncertainty about the libel law's applications.

Duterte—who has banned Rappler staff from official events and dismissed its reporting as "fake news"—has denied that charges against Ressa have anything to do with the site's reporting and has said he doesn't know Keng. But journalists and human-rights advocates say Duterte and other world leaders bear blame for setting a dangerous tone.

"[Duterte] has created an atmosphere whereby the entirety of the press becomes suspect," says Sheila Coronel, director of Columbia University's Toni Stabile Center for Investigative Journalism, who has reported in the Philippines. "The creation of an uncivil space that attacks professional newsgathering—you see that all over the world, even in the more advanced democracies."

Ressa has no plans to let that stop her. In fact, just the opposite.

"I'm going to hold them accountable. Government officials, they've been acting with impunity on so many fronts. But I will use my voice. I'm a citizen of this country. They have violated my rights," she says. "And every time they do it, I will not just bear witness as an individual. I will speak." ◻

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One giant leap

The days have passed since basketball's iconic flyers like Michael Jordan soared in the NBA Slam Dunk contest. Today's superstars are less willing to take the risk; miss a landing, you can break an ankle.

On Feb. 16 in Charlotte, N.C., however, Oklahoma City Thunder guard Hamidou Diallo restored the dunkfest to its former glory. Diallo leaped so high over a skittish—Could you blame him?—7-ft. 1-in. Shaquille O'Neal, he flushed his entire forearm, plus the basketball, down the rim. Diallo earned a perfect score of 50. No dunk has deserved it more.

Photograph by Nathaniel S. Butler—NBAE/Getty Images

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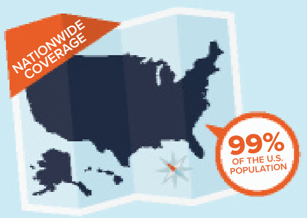

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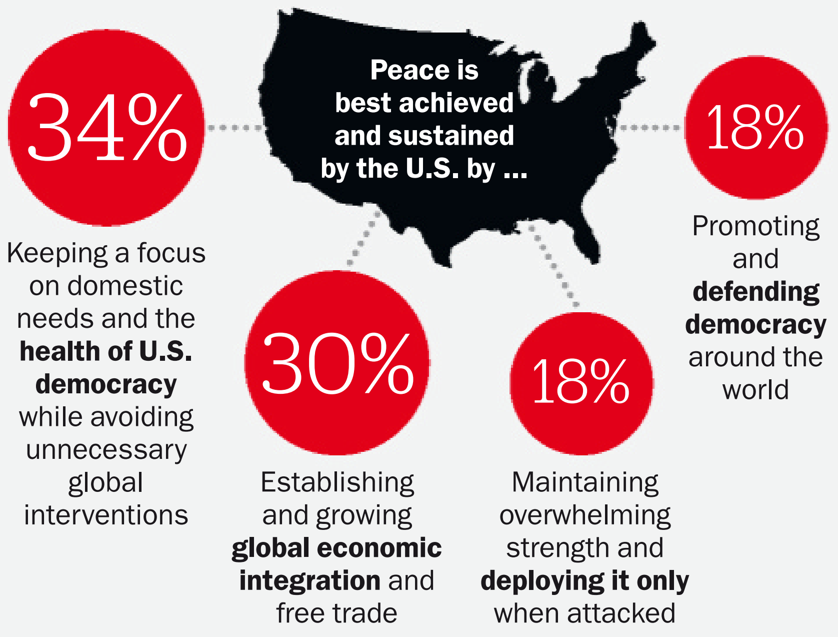
FOREIGN POLICY

WORLDS APART

By Ian Bremmer

For decades, American foreign policy has rested on a consensus view about the U.S. role in the world. In an international order in which there is a single unrivaled superpower, foreign policy experts widely agree that American soldiers and taxpayer dollars are essential for preserving global stability. But that assumption is not necessarily shared by the ▶

American public, according to the findings of a new study, *Worlds Apart: U.S. Foreign Policy and American Public Opinion,* conducted by the Eurasia Group Foundation (EGF), an organization I serve as board president. No matter what party they claim allegiance to, Americans favor a foreign policy that resists entanglements abroad, the survey found—a view not limited to conservative libertarians on the right and liberal pacifists on the left. Respondents in every age group polled also exhibited a waning appetite for the obligations and impositions of imperial governance.



Americans weigh in on foreign policy

On America and exceptionalism ...

49% Exceptional because of **what it represents**	**33% Not an exceptional nation;** every country is unique but acts in its own interests	**18%** Exceptional because of **what it has done** for the world

SOURCE: EURASIA GROUP FOUNDATION

This isn't the first time such findings have cropped up. Americans have been skeptical of overseas interventions for decades. But this study provides the clearest picture yet of how Americans view the world at a moment when U.S. President Donald Trump is taking an unprecedented approach to foreign policy and the fault lines of American politics are changing.

For all the (entirely fair) criticism of his chaotic and abrasive decisionmaking, Trump understands this wariness. Some insist he has hijacked U.S. foreign policy by expressing public doubt about the value of existing alliances and an interventionist stance. But in many ways Trump's views align with the ways in which a majority of American taxpayers would define the future U.S. role in the world. "America first" isn't just a Trump catchphrase. When it comes to foreign policy, it's becoming a national worldview.

EVER SINCE THE COLD WAR, U.S. policymakers have broadly agreed that two world wars and the struggle with expansionist Soviet communism offered indisputable proof that American leadership is good for both the world and U.S. national security. It gives Washington the tools to exert power "over there" to prevent foreign problems from reaching American shores.

Yet for all the talk of leadership, Washington policymakers have failed to convince Americans that they should bear the cost of exercising it abroad. After the attacks of Sept. 11, 2001, and the inconclusive military interventions that followed in Afghanistan, Iraq and elsewhere, the American public is less convinced than ever that it is the U.S.'s responsibility to guarantee global security and prosperity in the 21st century. Asked how best to achieve peace, more than one-third of respondents to the EGF study said the U.S. should focus on domestic needs and the "health of American democracy." Just 18% said the best route was by promoting and defending democracy around the world.

Americans have not stopped believing the country is exceptional. Rather, they believe exceptionalism is better expressed by the power of what the U.S. does at home than by a project to remake the world in America's image. Almost half the survey's respondents believe "America is exceptional because of what it represents." Only 18% said that "America is exceptional because of what it has done for the world."

I think this is partly because Americans have come to accept that, globally, democracy has not carried the day. They see countries like China and Saudi Arabia achieving remarkable economic success without following the U.S. free-market model. They see from those countries that personal freedom and rule of law are not universal values. They believe the U.S. can promote these values more effectively by realizing their highest forms at home than by selling or imposing them abroad.

On the use of force, respondents could fairly be described as "reluctant" and "risk-averse." Asked how the U.S. should respond if "Iran gets back on track with its nuclear-weapons program," there was a bipartisan preference for diplomacy over military action. And although 45% of respondents argued for current levels of military spending to be maintained, among those who didn't, more than twice as many thought the U.S. should decrease spending rather than increase it.

Crucially, the survey did not find that Americans want to withdraw from the world. Some 30% believe that "establishing, encouraging and reinforcing global economic integration, as well as the growth of free trade," is the best way to achieve a lasting peace. But a plurality aligned themselves with what the report calls an "Independent America" worldview—an America that declares independence from the responsibility to solve other people's problems.

The contrast between public and expert opinion is stark. The EGF report analyzed writing by a random sample of 45 foreign policy experts published over the past three years in the journal *Foreign Affairs.* The views expressed by these experts are inversely related to the findings on U.S. public opinion. Almost half (47%) saw America as "indispensable," i.e., that there can be no global peace and prosperity without active

U.S. leadership. Among the public, just 9.5% shared support for that idea.

THE U.S. IS A REPRESENTATIVE, not a direct, democracy. Americans don't expect their leaders to base every decision strictly on their constituents' opinions. They're elected to think for themselves—and for the nation. They have an opportunity, even a responsibility, to help shape public opinion. This is especially true on questions of foreign policy, in which wise choices depend on highly specialized knowledge.

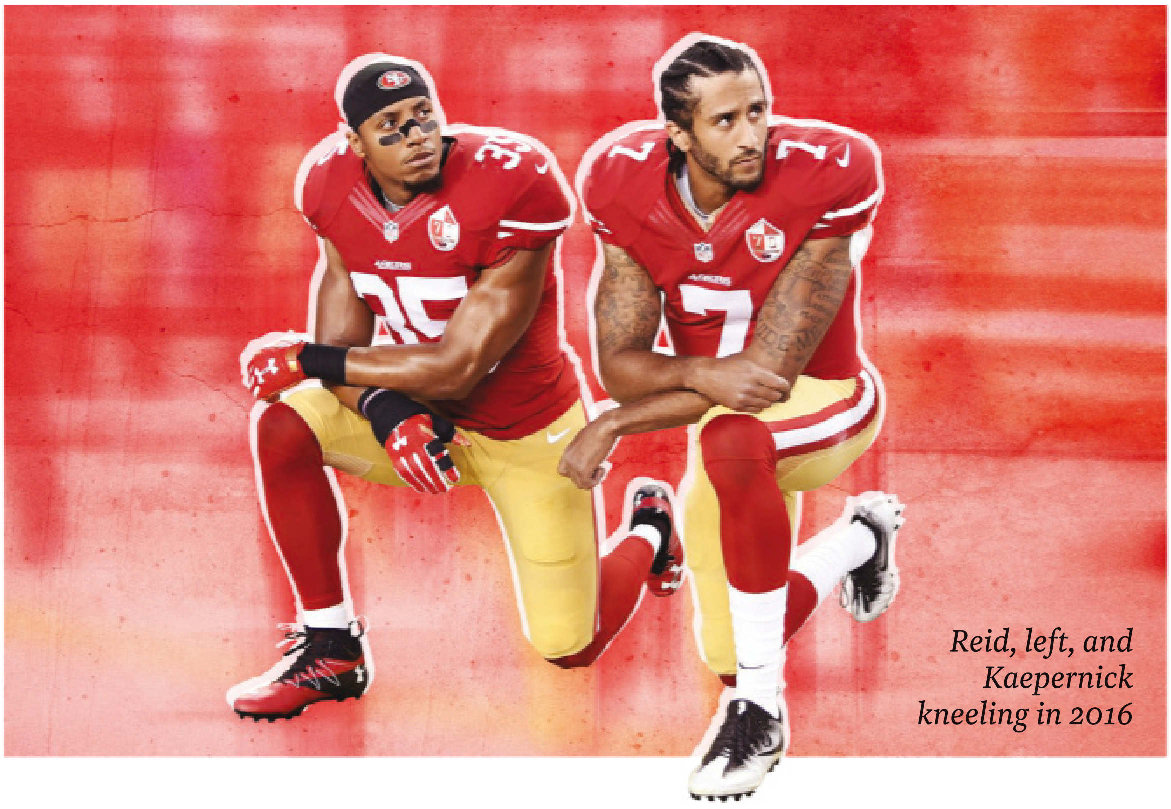
But within a democracy, policymakers must also allow their constituents to help shape their choices. That's felt most acutely as the U.S. foreign policy establishment continues to be wedded to its view of American exceptionalism at a time of profound change in the world order. The Pax Americana era is over, and when reality changes, so must the perspective of those who influence and make decisions.

I would argue that U.S. policymakers have an opportunity here—to re-engage with their constituents at a time when the American public's outlook appears better suited to the fraught geopolitical realities of the current moment.

Failing to do so brings great risks. When foreign policy is pursued without significant public support, foreign governments perceive the U.S. as a less dependable and predictable partner; foreign enemies see potential divisions to be exploited. And foreign policy developed without consideration of public opinion will fall back on stale ideas. As the report's author, Mark Hannah, points out, well-meaning attempts to limit defense spending or rethink the war on terrorism are "dismissed as outside the boundaries of conventional wisdom."

The result of this myopic view of foreign policy possibilities can be costly—in blood, treasure and international political good will. But the larger cost of ignoring U.S. public opinion in favor of an elite consensus that lacks sustainable public backing may well be to American democracy.

Bremmer is founder and board president of EGF, a nonprofit dedicated to helping citizens understand the complexities of geopolitics that affect their lives



Reid, left, and Kaepernick kneeling in 2016

THEARON W. HENDERSON—GETTY IMAGES

SPORTS

How Colin Kaepernick beat the NFL

By Sean Gregory

THE NFL JUST ENJOYED A REBOUND season. Ratings and scoring rose. A breakout star, Patrick Mahomes, energized viewers. The President stopped bullying the league on Twitter. But the off-season had barely begun before the NFL took a hard hit.

Colin Kaepernick's failure to secure even a third-string spot on a roster has been a lingering stain. "You can't tell me that there are 96 quarterbacks who are so much better that he doesn't even deserve a tryout," says sports sociologist Harry Edwards, who advised Kaepernick when the quarterback played for the San Francisco 49ers. "You can't make that argument."

For nearly a year and a half, the NFL fought a grievance from Kaepernick, who led the 49ers to a Super Bowl, that the league had colluded to keep him from working; he was later joined by Eric Reid, who like his former teammate started kneeling during the national anthem in 2016 to protest for social-justice causes. But on Feb. 15, the NFL and attorneys for the athletes announced that they had settled the case. While the agreement is confidential, it's easy to interpret: Kaepernick scored a big win.

In 2013, the NFL reached a $1 billion settlement with former players who accused the league of turning a blind eye to concussions. While the NFL admitted no fault in that suit, the settlement sent a signal: Football is a risk to your brain. Similarly, the public has largely read this new deal as a tacit confession that the NFL preferred that Kaepernick be kept off the sidelines and that its internal politics be kept out of public view.

A few critics labeled Kaepernick a sellout for taking the NFL's money. But in civil cases, victories are measured in dollars. Plus, proving collusion in court is notoriously difficult. "You sue for damages, you sue to be made whole, you take the money, and you move on," says Edwards.

Kaepernick still wants to play in the NFL. The owner of the New England Patriots has expressed support for the QB; the Carolina Panthers, who signed Reid in November, also makes sense as a destination. The league may still stonewall Kaepernick. But having won a slew of humanitarian honors and fronted a successful Nike ad campaign, Kaepernick has emerged from his football exile more influential than ever. He no longer really needs the game. That's his greatest victory of all. ☐

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A guide to winning the wildest Democratic primary in a generation

By Molly Ball

ALMOST A YEAR BEFORE THE FIRST VOTES OF THE 2020 presidential contest, Democratic candidates are all over the map. There's Elizabeth Warren in a drafty warehouse in Des Moines, Iowa, boasting to more than 1,000 people about forcing out a bank CEO. In South Carolina, Cory Booker's in a college auditorium bringing the crowd to tears with his tale of the murder of a young boy from the Newark, N.J., projects. Sherrod Brown's in an Ohio union hall, wondering in his raspy baritone if his party has lost touch with Middle America.

The 2020 Democratic primary will be unprecedented. The field is likely to be the largest in history, there's no front runner in sight, and the stakes could hardly be higher. It's not just that many Democrats argue Donald Trump is a threat to American democracy. The party's very identity is up for grabs, as a vast and historically diverse crop of candidates brings big, new ideas to a demanding, divided base. "The Democratic Party is going through a very large transformation," says party operative Simon Rosenberg, who's backed the winning candidate in every primary since 1988 but has no favorite this time. "The era of Clinton and Obama is ending and ceding to a new set of dynamics. A new Democratic Party is being forged in front of our eyes."

The candidate voters choose to take on Trump may set the nation's ideological direction for years to come. Yet for the first time since 1988, there's no clear favorite. Former Vice President Joe Biden holds a wide lead in early polling, and his would-be rivals anticipate he has secured $25 million in early donor commitments if he takes the plunge. Those close to Biden expect him to join the race. But while party insiders think he has a good shot, he's hardly a shoo-in. Biden's opponents privately believe much of his support will melt away once other candidates become better known. They also plan to remind voters how Biden, 76, grilled Anita Hill, cozied up to Wall Street and pursued tough-on-crime policies in the 1990s.

But Biden's biggest liability might be the idea that he represents the party's past, not its future. The notion of nominating an old, white male in the age of Trump leaves many Democrats cold. The cultural energy on the left is about resisting white

ILLUSTRATION BY JOHN TOMAC FOR TIME

nationalism and toxic masculinity in the name of racial justice and gender equality. It's about formerly marginalized groups demanding to see themselves in their leaders, and millennials tired of baby-boomer rule. Biden would be a throwback to an era of incrementalism and hierarchy that the new generation of Democrats is aching to leave behind.

The 2018 midterms revealed three major forces creating today's party. The biggest was the power of women, who emerged in unprecedented numbers as candidates, organizers and voters. Second was the rise of a vocal, ambitious group of young progressives, exemplified by the media-savvy 29-year-old Congresswoman Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez. But third—and larger in numbers than the "AOC" faction—was the crop of political newcomers who cast themselves as pragmatists, many of them military or national-security veterans. These forces are pulling the party in different directions, and the struggle between them will shape the 2020 battlefield.

For the first time since **1988**, there's no consensus front runner

Unlike in elections past, the party establishment isn't steering the race with money, endorsements or political machinery. Democrats' elder statesmen are distant from the rising energies. President Obama is still beloved and has offered advice to several contenders, but sources say he's unlikely to take sides publicly or privately. Both Clintons feel like yesterday's news, each saddled with distinct political problems. The Democratic congressional leaders, Nancy Pelosi and Chuck Schumer, are products of a different era. In these days of social-media outrage and political cyberwarfare, everyone has a voice—but no one knows whom to trust, much less follow.

FITTINGLY, IT'S WOMEN, minorities and younger candidates who have jumped into the race early, while many white male hopefuls remain on the sidelines, gauging the terrain. By the time Senator Bernie Sanders entered the fray on Feb. 19, there were already five women, two African Americans, a Latino and a gay millennial among the 10 major declared candidates. Some moderate, white, male candidates suspect there's room for only one of them in the race: former New York mayor Michael Bloomberg and former Virginia governor Terry McAuliffe are unlikely to run if Biden gets in, according to sources close to both men. "At the end of the day, it will be about who can bridge the coalitions in the Democratic Party," says Ohio Congressman Tim Ryan, who is mulling a run himself but is aware that being a straight white male could be a liability for the first time in history. "Those are things I cannot change," he chuckles.

As much as they would like to move away from white male dominance, some rank-and-file Democrats worry that doing so would hurt the party's chances against Trump. They fear that a woman or nonwhite candidate would be damaged by Trump's sexism and race-baiting. And to the party faithful, winning is everything. "That's the first, second and third quality people are trying to assess each of these candidates by," says Jeff Link, an Iowa-based Democratic strategist who's watching the hopefuls parade through his state and has not yet chosen a favorite. "People are anxious to kick the tires, vet the candidates—and see who really is the person who can best take on Trump next year."

'A new Democratic Party is being forged in front of our eyes.'

—SIMON ROSENBERG,
LONGTIME DEMOCRATIC OPERATIVE

A few key factors will define who ultimately becomes the front runner. First among them is the divided, demanding Democratic base, with factions ranging from centrists to socialists. Then there's the process itself, a tangle of new rules and changing calendars. There's the money chase, scrambled by surges in Internet-fueled small-donor cash and candidates' turn against corporations, lobbyists and interest groups. Finally, there's the challenge posed by a singular opponent.

The stories on the following pages investigate each of those forces, offering a trail map of sorts for a campaign that is sure to get rough. "Everyone's behaving nicely now," Rosenberg says, "but by the fall, this will be a tough, hard-hitting primary." The debate clashes, micro-gaffes, scandals and policy disputes are yet to come, and the sprawling field only increases the chance of an unpredictable result. The bigger and messier the contest gets, the likelier it may be that the Democrats get the one thing none of them wants: a second Trump term. —*With reporting by* PHILIP ELLIOTT/WASHINGTON

THE VOTERS

A DIVIDED DEMOCRATIC BASE IS LURING CANDIDATES TO THE LEFT

WINNING A PRESIDENTIAL PRIMARY isn't magic: you figure out what voters want and then give it to them. But that's no simple task for the Democrats seeking the White House in 2020. This isn't the same party Bill Clinton or Barack Obama led. It's not even the same one that nominated Hillary Clinton less than three years ago.

The party's base is more diverse and more female than ever before, with newly assertive feminist and racial-justice voices demanding representation and respect. New policy ideas are flying: one cycle after Clinton's liberal incrementalism barely beat out Bernie Sanders' socialist vision, the party's politicians and policy wonks are debating a range of ambitious ideas. A resurgent democratic-socialist movement has a high-profile presence not just on Twitter and among activists but also in elected office, and it's advancing once marginal ideas toward the mainstream: big tax hikes on the rich, an end to private health insurance, guaranteed jobs for all and a climate-focused revamp of the economy.

"Progressive ideas are now more mainstream," says Karine Jean-Pierre, a former Obama campaign and Administration official who serves as chief public-affairs officer for the progressive group MoveOn. "Many are popular with Democrats and even Republicans and independents. It says a lot about how far we've come as a country and a party."

The party's center of gravity may have moved left, but the ideological drift shouldn't be overstated. "There are a lot of myths about the Democratic primary electorate, including the narrative that it's super liberal," says veteran pollster John Anzalone, who conducted 100 focus groups before the 2018 midterms. The share of Democrats who call themselves "liberal" or "progressive" tends to be about half, which is higher than it's been historically, but hardly dominant. (By contrast, about three-quarters of Republicans call themselves "conservative.") The other half of Democrats consider themselves moderate or even conservative. "We're not the Republicans, with their litmus tests," Anzalone says. "There might be some single-issue voters on the margins, but most primary voters are pro-choice, pro–gay marriage, pro–gun control and pro-environment. Beyond that, people really aren't hung up on whether you do Medicare for All or just protect and improve Obamacare."

Another myth is that the party's increasing diversity is driving its leftward lurch. In fact, it's the opposite: non-Hispanic white Democrats (about 60% of the party) are far more likely to call themselves liberal than black and Hispanic party members. While young Democrats are overwhelmingly liberal, about 60% of the party's primary voters are still over 50.

Some potential and declared 2020 candidates have responded to this mix by positioning themselves on the left end of the policy spectrum, like Sanders, Elizabeth Warren and Kirsten Gillibrand. Other hopefuls are playing to the middle: Joe Biden, Amy Klobuchar, Mike Bloomberg, John Delaney. (When many Democrats raced to embrace the Green New Deal, Delaney, a former Congressman and banker, came out against the plan.) Candidates like Kamala Harris, Cory Booker and Beto O'Rourke may try to straddle the divide, betting that the ideological tests imposed by online activists aren't as important to actual voters.

That suspicion is supported by interviews with voters on the early campaign trail. At a recent Warren rally in Des Moines, Iowa, Jen Kownacki, 45, said ideology was less important to her than character. "I'm looking for someone that has strong values and stances they're going to stick to," she said, standing in a line that stretched around the block. At a Booker event in rural Denmark, S.C., Yokina Williams said she was looking for an antidote to President Trump's divisiveness. "I'm a liberal," she said, "but I'm looking for a candidate who can unify the country."

Many primary voters express a similar yearning for bipartisanship, saying they want a positive and substantive message rather than someone who simply bashes Trump. The anti-Trump gadfly Michael Avenatti, who flirted with a presidential run, argues that the party needs a fighter to go toe-to-toe with Trump, and has taken to mocking candidates like Booker who preach harmony. But to many primary voters exhausted by Trump, a dose of "hope and change" is appealing.

About **half** of Democrats call themselves "liberal" or "progressive"

As always, style and charisma are likely to matter to voters at least as much as policy papers and voting records. "These candidates are going to try very hard to distinguish themselves from each other, but their positions are pretty similar," says Democratic strategist Rodell Mollineau. "It's going to be a lot more about the framing of your worldview than one specific vote." *—M.B.*

THE 2020 DEMOCRATIC PRIMARY CALENDAR

KEY: Dates in **bold** are confirmed (others are tentative) | *Caucus

50% + 1 vote required to win the nomination

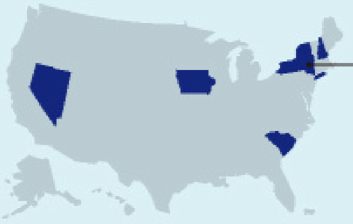
3,800

PLEDGED DELEGATES

Plus **760** superdelegates who defer to pledged delegates

FEBRUARY

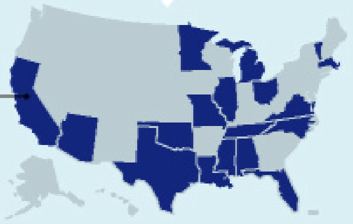
Iowa*
N.Y.
N.H.
Nev.*
S.C.



N.Y. is not likely to keep its leadoff position

MARCH

Delegate-rich Calif.'s move to March is a big change

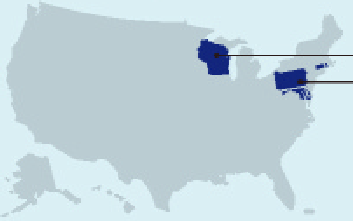


Nine states will vote on Super Tuesday (March 3)

Ala.
Calif.
Mass.
Minn.
N.C.
Okla.
Tenn.
Texas
Vt.
Va.
La.
Mich.
Miss.
Mo.
Ohio
Ariz.
Fla.
Ill.

APRIL

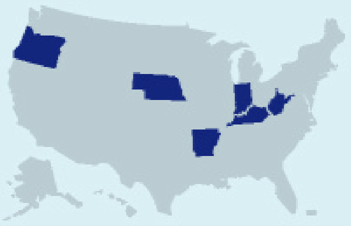
Wis.
Conn.
Del.
Md.
Pa.
R.I.



Wis. and Pa. are tests for the general election

MAY

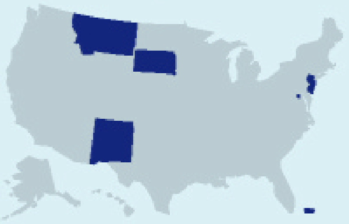
Campaigns anticipate regional contests here



Ind.
Neb.
W.Va.
Ark.
Ky.
Ore.

JUNE

Mont.
N.J.
N.M.
S.D.
P.R.
D.C.



DNC rules offer incentives for states to go late

TO BE SCHEDULED

Alaska, Colorado, Georgia, Hawaii, Idaho, Kansas, Maine, North Dakota, Utah, Washington, Wyoming and four territories have not yet finalized their election plans

THE RULES

A NEW PRIMARY PROCESS FAVORS CAMPAIGNS THAT MASTER IT

By Philip Elliott

TO RIVAL CAMPAIGNS, one of the clearest signs that Kamala Harris could be a formidable candidate was not her early fundraising haul, the endorsements she's racked up or the crowd of 20,000 that cheered her announcement speech in Oakland, Calif. It was the hiring of an obscure adviser named Dave Huynh.

Back in the 2016 primary contest, Delegate Dave, as he was known around Hillary Clinton's Brooklyn headquarters, was charged with ensuring that no stealth Bernie Sanders backers were hiding in Clinton's delegation to the Philadelphia nominating convention. The Howard University School of Law grad then spent much of 2017 helping to rewrite the rules of the Democratic Party. Now Harris has enlisted him to vet, befriend and monitor the roughly 3,800 "pledged delegates"—a collection of Democratic activists and insiders—who represent their states' will at the party's nominating convention.

The wide-open field of 2020 Democratic candidates makes masters of the party's arcane presidential-primary rules more important than ever. The fact that those rules won't be finalized for months only raises the stakes. Eleven states and some U.S. territories have yet to decide when they'll hold their nominating contests. Other states have yet to decide whether they'll hold primaries or caucuses. The Democratic National Committee has a May 3 deadline for state parties to file their plans, but party officials expect a handful to miss that deadline.

The resulting uncertainty is forcing campaigns with finite resources to make key strategic decisions without basic facts.

THE MONEY CHASE

WHY WINNING CAMPAIGNS WILL BE POWERED BY SMALL DONORS

AS CORY BOOKER'S inner circle planned his presidential bid on multiple conference calls in recent months, talk inevitably turned to money. To win, the aides concluded, the Senator needed to build a grassroots fundraising network broad enough to generate hundreds of millions of dollars. So far, things appear to be going according to plan: since Booker jumped in, 81% of the campaign's donors were new. "We're going to power this election principally by low-dollar contributions," Booker said on his first trip to Iowa.

Left, right or center, the strategists advising

> **‘It’s like “Thunderdome” with fractions.’**
>
> —A DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE MEMBER, ON THE PARTY RULES

Caucuses and primaries require entirely different campaign tactics and staffing levels, for example, and candidates don’t know yet when they’ll need bodies on the ground to compete in certain states. Even the big event remains up in the air: unlike the Republicans, the Democrats have not even picked the city where the convention will be held. “A lot needs to be determined,” admits a top Democratic campaign official.

Much of the blame, grumbling campaign staffers say, falls at the feet of the Democratic National Committee, which is still licking the self-inflicted wounds of the 2016 spats between Clinton and Sanders, whose supporters claimed the organization’s rules were rigged against him. DNC chairman Tom Perez won his election the following year in part by promising to reconsider the rules. After contentious public debate, the DNC ultimately settled on the biggest revamp of the process since 1980. “We can’t win if we don’t earn the trust of grassroots voters from across the country,” Perez says. “That’s why we’ve spent the last two years making historic reforms to the party.”

Some of those reforms are still coming together. In 2020, for example, the party’s roughly 760 superdelegates won’t be able to vote for a nominee until after he or she has won a majority of the regular, pledged delegates. That should prevent the party elites, like ex-Presidents and current members of Congress, from lifting a preferred candidate to victory or countermanding regular voters. But other reforms are still being hashed out. The DNC is pressuring states to move away from caucuses, which favored Sanders’ die-hard supporters. Colorado and Minnesota have announced they will hold primaries instead, and Maine, Idaho, Nebraska and Washington are poised to follow.

The irony of these changes is that a rules overhaul initiated by Sanders supporters and designed to democratize the nominating process may end up hindering “movement candidates” and helping structurally superior campaigns. Maybe. Truth be told, everyone is still trying to game out who gets the advantage with the new rules. “It’s like ‘Thunderdome’ with fractions,” says one DNC member.

It will only get worse if the race drags into the summer of 2020. Making it that far may be a challenge for many: California has jumped forward in the schedule, holding its primary in March instead of June, and competing for its 362 delegates will cost dump trucks of cash for ads and campaign staff. But three-quarters of those delegates, like others around the country, will be awarded by congressional district, to those who earn 15% support or more, meaning the historically large field is likely to split the vote into ever smaller fragments. The nightmare for Democrats: it’s entirely possible that delegates arrive at the party’s convention in July with the outcome of the race still uncertain. The nomination could require multiple ballots for the first time since 1952.

13
Wyoming is set to have the smallest state delegation of pledged delegates

Which is why insiders like Dave Huynh loom so important this cycle. Unlike their Republican counterparts, Democratic pledged delegates are not required to stick with the candidates they told primary voters they would back. With superdelegates barred from breaking the logjam, it could be personal relationships established over the years, like Huynh’s, that tip the outcome on the convention floor.

Wherever that might be.

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candidates this cycle estimate successful ones will need about $100 million just to get to Iowa’s leadoff caucuses on Feb. 3 and an additional $50 million to reach Super Tuesday a month later. Top staffers at major campaigns tell TIME that small-dollar fundraising is a cornerstone of their strategies. The Democratic National Committee is using small-dollar fundraising as one of the criteria to qualify for the first debates in June. “If someone isn’t building this,” an adviser to one 2020 campaign says of its digital donor machine, “they’re doing it wrong.”

The power of small-dollar giving was evident in 2018, when the left’s online fundraising platform ActBlue processed 42 million contributions totaling an eye-popping $1.6 billion. By some estimates, that haul could double in 2020. The emphasis is a dramatic shift from past cycles, when Barack Obama and Hillary Clinton worked the fundraising circuit to woo major donors and attended events for super PACs working on their behalf. This time, the Democrats are mirroring the mood of their base by heeding Senator Elizabeth Warren’s call to swear off contributions from lobbyists and corporate PACs. Former Housing Secretary Julián Castro has already returned some lobbyists’ donations. When supporters signed up to receive text messages from Senator Amy Klobuchar’s campaign, this was their first reply: “This team is powered by YOU (i.e. NOT Super PACS).”

$150 million
Estimated amount top campaigns will need to reach Super Tuesday

There’s a clear leader in the small-dollar cash chase: Senator Bernie Sanders. A day after jumping into the race on Feb. 19, he had raised $6 million from more than 225,000 donors. Beto O’Rourke mustered 750,000 such donors in his 2018 Senate campaign. Kamala Harris raised $1.5 million online in the first 24 hours after announcing her presidential run on Jan. 21, with an average contribution of $37.

Not that big-dollar donors won’t weigh in too. But even they view online giving as a cost-saving barometer of viability. “Small-dollar donors and newbies are going to power these campaigns,” says a veteran Democratic fundraiser. “Until the veterans come off the sidelines, probably around Halloween.” —*P.E.*

THE CANDIDATES

A HISTORIC FIELD

The 2020 Democratic primary could be the largest and most diverse ever

JOE BIDEN
Former Vice President

STATUS: Undecided

ADVANTAGES: The veteran pol has long-standing ties to insiders, donors, blue collar whites and black voters

DISADVANTAGES: Famously gaffe-prone. And does today's party really want such a longtime Washington stalwart?

MIKE BLOOMBERG
Former mayor, New York City

STATUS: Undecided

ADVANTAGES: The billionaire has poured his fortune into climate and gun policy. Cross-aisle appeal.

DISADVANTAGES: A former Republican in an increasingly liberal and anti-corporate party

ELIZABETH WARREN
Senator, Massachusetts

STATUS: Declared

ADVANTAGES: A clear, progressive policy vision combined with a compelling personal story

DISADVANTAGES: Big Business loathes her, she may be too liberal for moderates, and the flap over her Native American heritage doesn't help

SHERROD BROWN
Senator, Ohio

STATUS: Undecided

ADVANTAGES: The plainspoken pol repeatedly pulls off a feat few Dems can manage these days: he wins in the Buckeye State

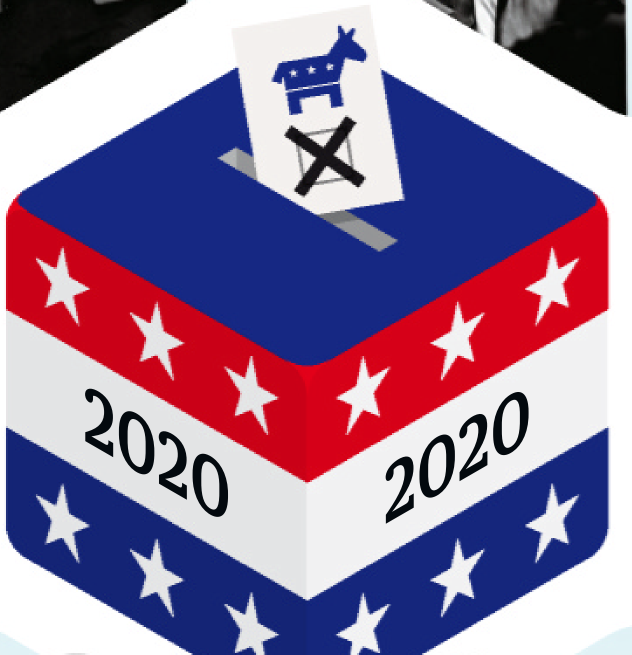
DISADVANTAGES: Little known on the national stage, and his ability to woo voters outside his blue collar base is unproven

CORY BOOKER
Senator, New Jersey

STATUS: Declared

ADVANTAGES: A social-media darling and skilled speaker, the Rhodes scholar is pitching himself as a unity candidate

DISADVANTAGES: Has run for federal office only once, after a mixed record as mayor of Newark, N.J.



AMY KLOBUCHAR
Senator, Minnesota

STATUS: Declared

ADVANTAGES: Hails from Iowa's next-door neighbor; respected on both sides of the Senate for her policy chops

DISADVANTAGES: Her campaign launch has been dogged by allegations that she bullies staff

KIRSTEN GILLIBRAND
Senator, New York

STATUS: Exploratory committee

ADVANTAGES: The New Yorker has styled herself as a feminist champion who can still relate to red-state Americans

DISADVANTAGES: Gillibrand's metamorphosis from moderate to liberal strikes some Dems as insincere, while others blame her for the ouster of former Senator Al Franken

JULIÁN CASTRO
Former HUD Secretary

STATUS: Declared

ADVANTAGES: The ex–Housing and Urban Development chief and former mayor of San Antonio will draw votes in the increasingly blue Southwest

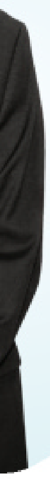
DISADVANTAGES: Cautious and soft-spoken, he could have trouble standing out

KAMALA HARRIS
Senator, California

STATUS: Declared

ADVANTAGES:
The charismatic Californian appeals to the party's anti-Trump fervor and desire for diversity

DISADVANTAGES:
Elected in 2016, she's untested on the national stage, and her record as a prosecutor will be questioned



BERNIE SANDERS
Senator, Vermont

STATUS: Declared

ADVANTAGES:
Earned a dedicated grassroots following in his surprisingly strong 2016 campaign

DISADVANTAGES:
This time he won't be the only far-left candidate or the only alternative to a single front runner

PETE BUTTIGIEG
Mayor, South Bend, Ind.

STATUS: Exploratory committee

ADVANTAGES:
At age 37, "Mayor Pete" would become not only the youngest President but also the first LGBT one

DISADVANTAGES:
Never before elected to federal office, Buttigieg faces an uphill battle to convince voters and donors that he's a viable contender

BETO O'ROURKE
Former Congressman, Texas

STATUS: Undecided

ADVANTAGES:
Fresh-faced and inspirational, he became a national progressive celebrity during his 2018 Senate campaign

DISADVANTAGES:
A failed Senate bid after three quiet terms in the House is a light presidential résumé

THE OPPONENT

CAN ANY OF THESE PEOPLE BEAT DONALD TRUMP?

MORE THAN ANYTHING—more than policy or charisma or age or race or gender—Democratic voters say they care about whether a candidate can beat Donald Trump. The problem is nobody knows how to beat Trump in an election, because nobody's ever done it.

Trump's 2016 opponents tried everything. His Republican primary rivals tried ignoring him. They tried reasoning with voters, pointing out that he wasn't a traditional conservative. Some tried ridiculing him; Marco Rubio insulted the size of his hands. Ted Cruz tried aligning himself with Trump, which was good enough for second place. In the general election, Hillary Clinton pounded Trump's character and warned that he posed a danger to U.S. security. Like Cruz, Clinton built a data-driven, voter-targeting operation with expensive staff, offices and technology, but these state-of-the-art campaign organizations were no match either: Trump beat Clinton with little more than a Twitter account, a personal jet and perhaps a little help from abroad.

The shock of Clinton's defeat left Democrats feeling gaslit and insecure. Nothing made sense; Trump seemed impossible, maybe invincible. "Democrats were second-guessing themselves a lot," says Seth Masket, a University of Denver political scientist writing a book on the evolution of the party between 2016 and 2020. "They didn't trust their own political instincts."

11% of Democrats' 2018 ads mentioned Trump

Trump wasn't on the ballot in 2018, but the Democrats' success in taking back the House of Representatives reassured anxious partisans that he wasn't all-powerful. The party's strategists took a simple, disciplined approach: candidates, particularly in swing states and districts, ignored Trump as much as possible. Instead they focused on health care and emphasized pocketbook issues. The gambit was successful in the Rust Belt states that gave Trump the presidency: Democrats swept every statewide contest in Pennsylvania, Michigan and Wisconsin. They also dominated the suburban areas that are home to about half of the electorate, winning congressional districts from Oklahoma City to Orange County, California. "Donald Trump was the background music," says Democratic strategist Jesse Ferguson. "Our focus was on health care and taxes and issues that impacted people's lives, even if they weren't hearing about them on the nightly news."

So far, the 2020 contenders are performing variations on that 2018 playbook: trying to define themselves on substance, issues and policy rather than competing to articulate the most savage indictment of Trump. Amy Klobuchar, in her announcement speech, said she was running to "take back our democracy." Kamala Harris insisted, "America, we are better than this." But the problems they pledge to solve tend to be traditional liberal priorities, like getting money out of politics and making health care more accessible.

Demographics are also on the mind of anxious Democratic voters. Some worry that Trump's skill at tapping voters' latent misogyny would make it a mistake to nominate another woman. Others fear his race-baiting would hurt an African-American or Hispanic nominee. And Democrats' decades-old debate over the relative importance of blue collar whites and lower-propensity minority voters rages on. Trump seems to delight in ridiculing Elizabeth Warren, while White House advisers say he most fears Joe Biden as an opponent.

Then there's the wild card: What if Trump isn't on the ballot? House Democrats have begun hearings into the President's affairs. Special counsel Robert Mueller's probe into Russian election meddling may be nearing completion. Impeachment proceedings appear possible, even likely. Already, Trump has drawn a dark-horse Republican primary challenger, former Massachusetts governor Bill Weld. The President enjoys strong support from most Republicans, but a recent poll found a third of GOP voters open to an alternative.

For now, most Democratic voters are watching the new 2020 candidates and weighing which ones seem best poised to vanquish the President. But electability, says former Obama strategist David Axelrod, is in the eye of the beholder. "In my experience," he says, "people tend to decide who they like, then rationalize how that person can win. That's what they mean by 'electability.' " *—M.B.*

BIDEN, BOOKER: SHUTTERSTOCK; BLOOMBERG, HARRIS, WARREN, BROWN, SANDERS, GILLIBRAND, CASTRO: GETTY IMAGES; KLOBUCHAR: CELESTE SLOMAN—THE NEW YORK TIMES/REDUX; BUTTIGIEG, O'ROURKE: REUTERS

THE DUST BOWL DOWN UNDER

Farmers in Australia are struggling to cope with the country's hottest-ever drought

BY CASEY QUACKENBUSH

PHOTOGRAPHS BY ADAM FERGUSON FOR TIME

Sheep feeding on Epping Farm near Pilliga, New South Wales, in November, more than six years into the drought

FORECAST TEMPERATURE
2PM AEDT THURSDAY
L
H

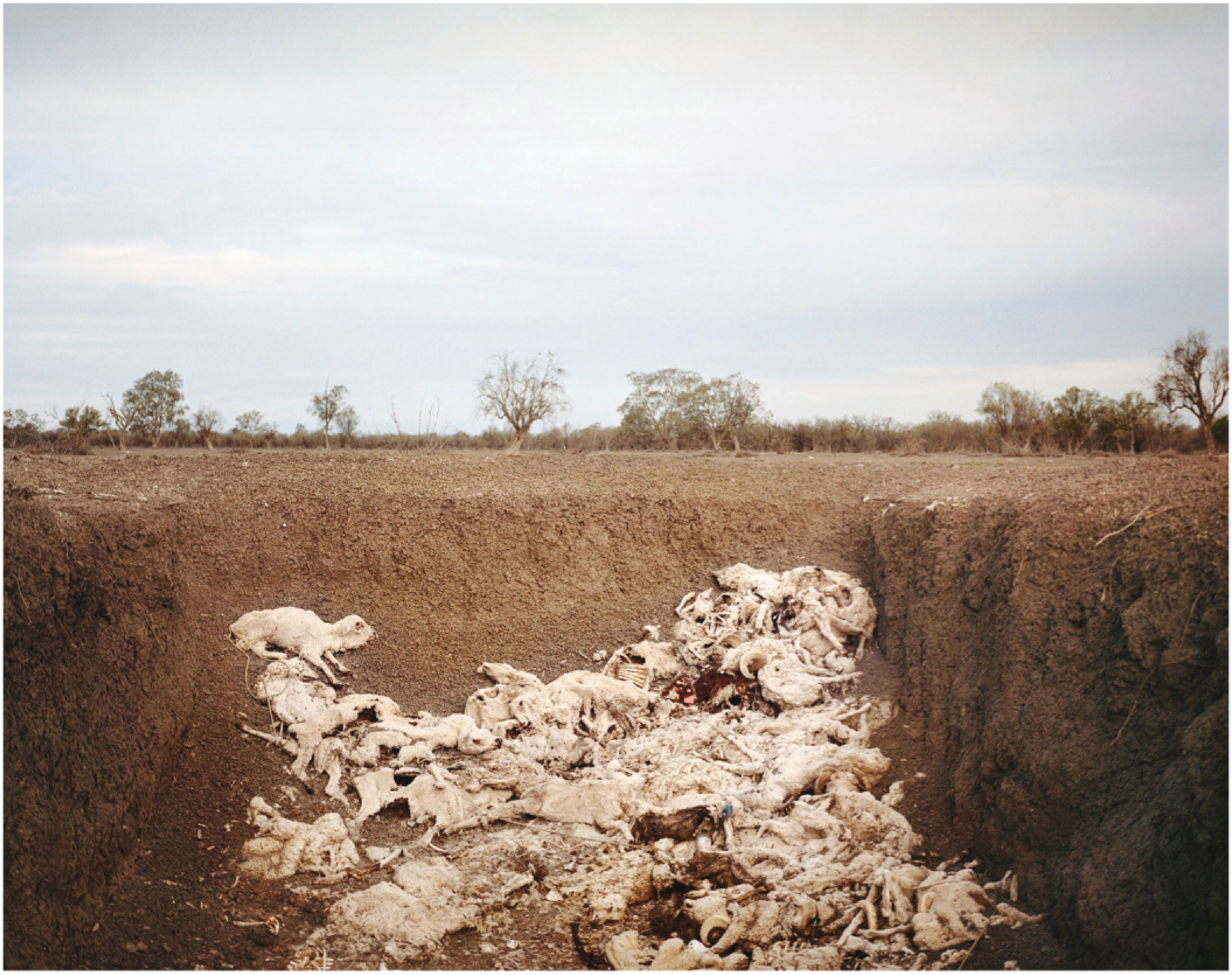
W

WHEN THE WIND BLOWS, KRYSTAL BULLEN'S HOME can vanish in an instant. It sits on 4,000 acres of dust outside Pilliga, a New South Wales town nearly 300 miles northwest of Sydney, and a good gust will engulf her homestead in a brown haze. "I've kind of given up on cleaning," says Bullen, 36, laughing at the dust that coated her windows when TIME visited in December. Among the more pressing matters: a debt of nearly half a million dollars, an injured husband and a farm to manage alone during one of Australia's worst-ever droughts. "We've had droughts before," she says, "but nothing of this caliber."

Drought is endemic on the world's driest inhabited continent, but the conditions Australia is currently experiencing count as the most severe in its modern history. It's not yet the longest spell of drought, but it is the hottest—and since 2012 it has devastated cattle ranches, sheep farms and swaths of arable land across Australia's vast outback, or bush. According to government data, winter crop production nationwide is forecast to decrease by 23% in 2018–19. On the country's east coast, drought has affected 49% of its primarily grassy agricultural land and driven cattle slaughter up by 17%. In the supposedly temperate southeast, one-third of dairy farms are projected to lose money this year.

Higher-than-average temperatures linked to climate change are to blame for the intensity of this drought, according to professor Mark Howden, director of the Climate Change Institute at the Australian National University and vice chair of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC). The country has experienced 9 of the 10 warmest years on record since 2005, and a heat wave in January broke records across Australia. With January bushfires on the island of Tasmania and monsoon flooding in parts of northeastern Queensland in early February, Australia is battling the gamut

Jack Slack-Smith, a 65-year-old farmer, listens to a weather report in his living room at Epping Farm. The drought has reduced its sheep stock from 7,000 to approximately 3,600, and cattle from 260 breeders to 22



The carcasses of sheep dead from drought-related causes are deposited in a pit on Slack-Smith's farm

of extreme weather linked to climate change.

Higher temperatures cause water to evaporate faster, Howden explains, making plants less water efficient. "We are probably more challenged than we have ever been before. We're going into drought quicker, harder, tougher," he says.

Australia isn't alone. Average temperatures are surging across the globe. By the end of the century, according to the IPCC, drought will become more common and severe across the planet's midlatitudes and subtropics—a cross section of the globe that includes the Mediterranean, the southwest U.S., the western part of South America, and southern Africa.

What is happening in Australia is far from a local phenomenon, says professor Lesley Hughes of the Climate Council, a crowdfunded think tank based in Sydney. "It's a harbinger of things to come."

SINCE THE ONSET of drought, Bullen's stock of sheep has dropped from 1,700 to 500. Most have perished in a pattern livestock farmers are experiencing across the bush. Weakened by heat and thirst, sheep and cattle become vulnerable. When they venture into dried-up creeks, they get trapped in the mud. Crows peck out their eyes and monitor lizards—known in Australia as goannas—eat them alive. Farmers spend their days protecting the animals as best they can and nights dealing with paperwork and repairs to their sprawling properties.

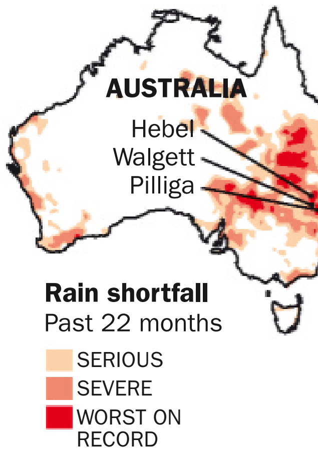
In January last year, Bullen's burden became dramatically heavier. Her husband Gus, 52, had a motorcycle accident that put him out of work for eight months. The farm's debt spiraled to $430,000. Running it alone, Bullen couldn't visit Gus at the hospital. They pulled their daughter Kathleen, 16, out of boarding school. Gus has since resumed work as a contract fencer, but the family still relies on donated groceries and livestock feed. "We've been really lucky," he says of the support, which has helped to relieve them of the $470 per ton they were paying for feed—triple what it costs when there's been rain. "The biggest thing that's let us down is the government, really. They've done nothing for us."

The government has in fact made efforts. On top of a $1.3 billion boost to relief in August, a $3.6 billion fund was created in December to invest in drought-busting infrastructure and technology. But it amounts to treating symptoms rather than the underlying

Sheep graze on branches cut by farmer David Cross near Hebel, along the New South Wales–Queensland border, in November. Cross chops branches or whole trees several times a week instead of buying costly feed

disease of climate change, which will likely cause wider, systemic detriments to the farming industry. "Aussie farmers have always had to be adaptable," says Hughes of the Climate Council. "But we may get to the point where climate change over the next few decades will be something you can't adapt to."

The Australian government officially acknowledges the reality of global warming, but climate-change skepticism is still endemic in Australian politics. Many conservatives want the country to follow the U.S. in quitting the Paris Agreement on carbon emissions. In August, Prime Minister Scott Morrison acknowledged to a group of farmers that "the climate is changing. Everybody knows that." But, he added, "I don't think that's part of this debate."



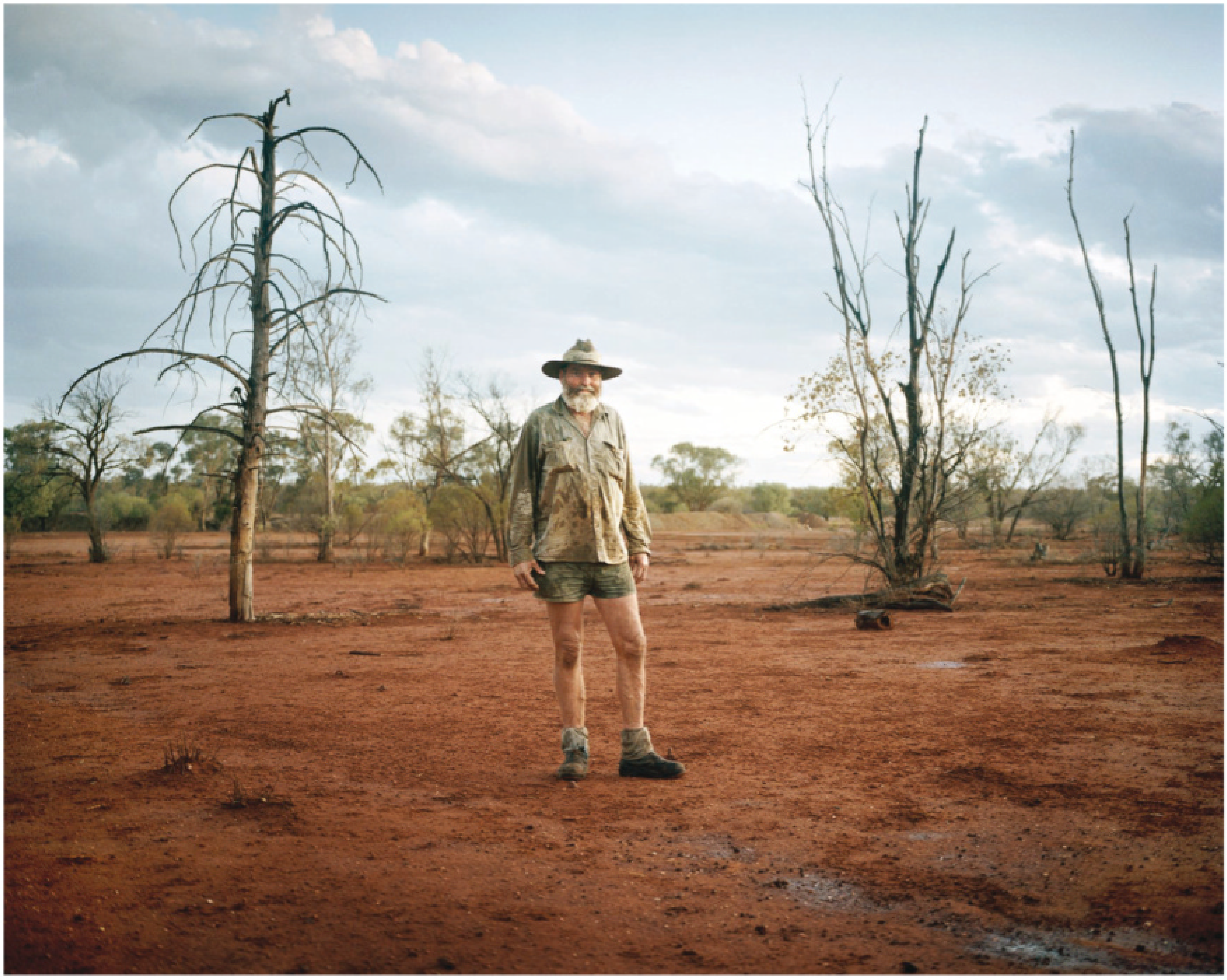
Yet the extreme weather that comes with climate change is set to further isolate rural communities. The Climate Council projects that by 2030, winter and spring rainfall will decrease by an additional 15%. Under the most extreme scenario, parts of the country would see rainfall halve by late this century, potentially crippling the wheat industry. "Climate change puts lives and livelihoods at risk, and that happens everywhere," Howden says. "We are a canary in the coal mine."

Back on the farm, Bullen is home alone. Tomorrow she'll be up at 5 a.m. to feed the sheep, loading the truck with hay and dropping the bales all over the vast property in the scorching heat. The task will take her hours. "I know people say 'Just walk off,' but it's not that simple," she says of the farm, which has been in Gus' family for more than a century. "If we knew the drought was going to last six years, I'm sure we would have all done things differently."

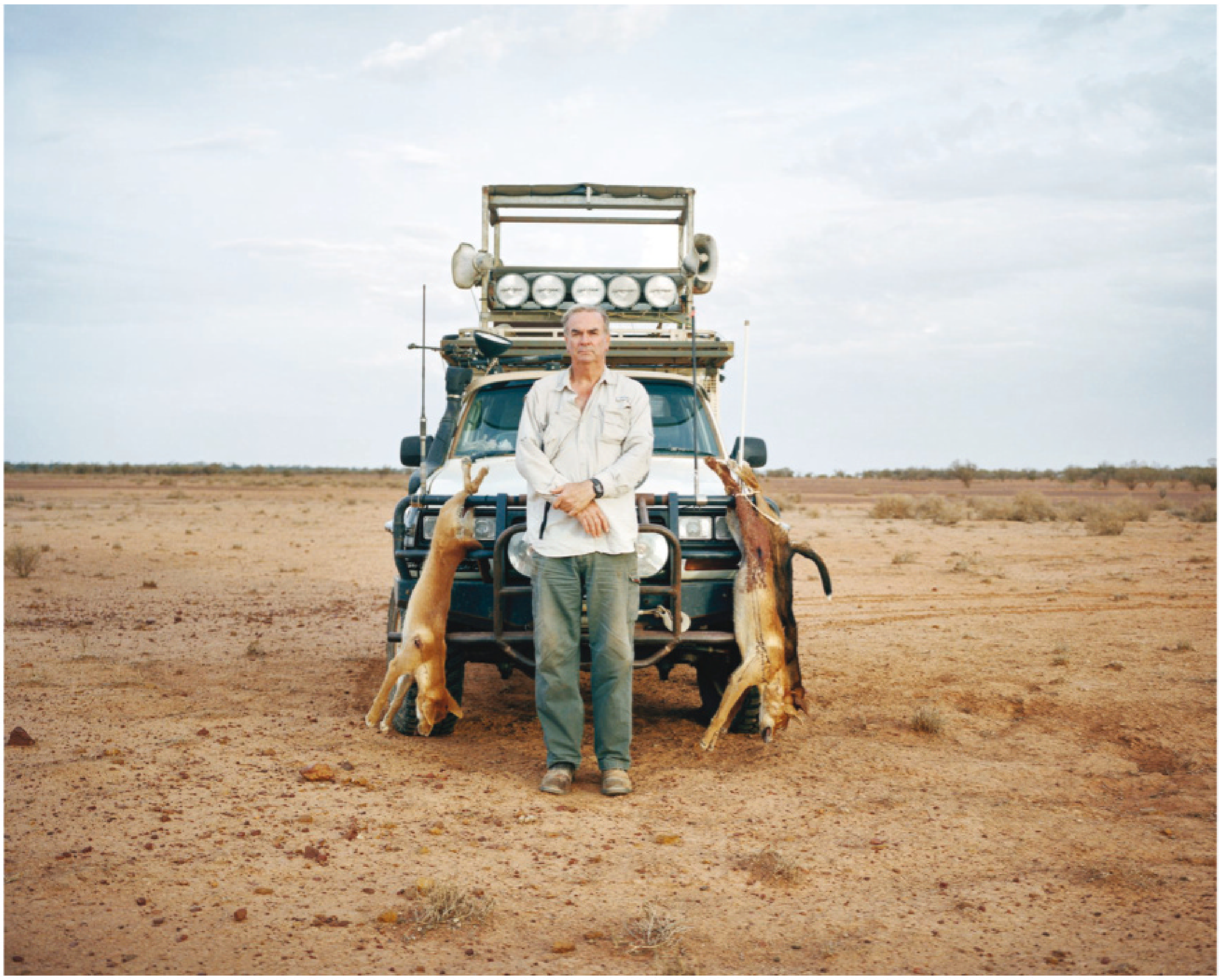
She still has her bad days and her breakdowns, she says. She's lost a lot of weight from the stress, and her resilience is "absolutely" wearing thin. So what would it take for her to walk away? "Gus and I talk about it all the time," she says. "Another 12 months, we might pull the pin. But then we keep saying to ourselves, what if it rains?"

Billy Skinner, a drover who herds livestock for a living, on the Dulbydilla stock route in Queensland in November. Skinner was droving cattle trucked from a drought-affected area to a place where they could feed

Farmers Kent Morris and Sam Cormack with their children at Kandimulla Property in Queensland. Morris says he has suffered depression related to farming struggles. Research shows that farmers are among the highest-risk groups for suicide. On average, people in remote Australia die from suicide at twice the rate of city residents



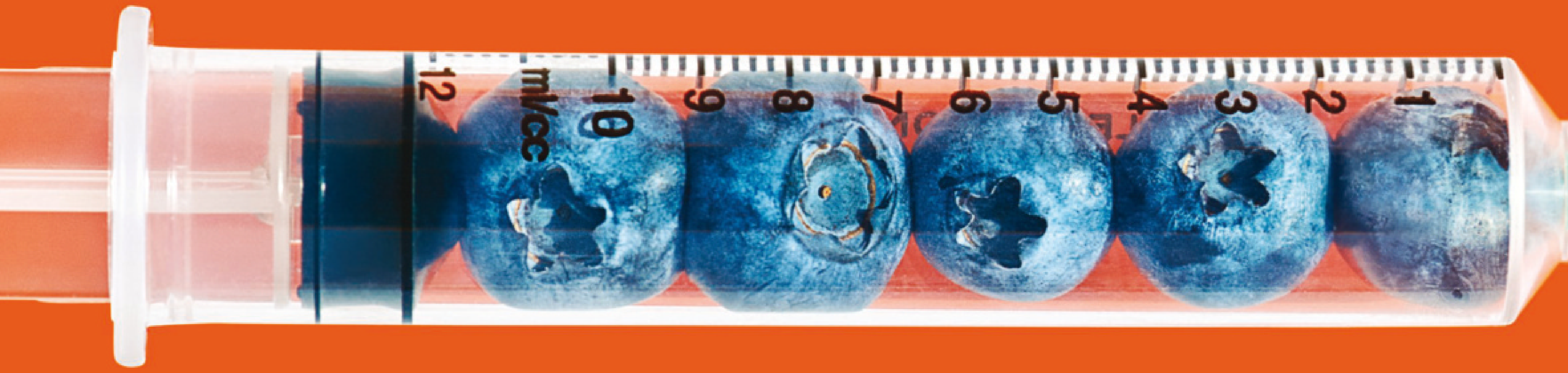
James Foster, a farmer, on Westleigh Property near Walgett, New South Wales, in December. Foster's generation is the third in his family to own and work Westleigh



Ray Dennis, who owns 11 properties in New South Wales, poses with the carcasses of dingoes in Yantabangee. The entrepreneur, who supplements his income with a variety of off-farm businesses, says drought has always been a part of the landscape

Gus Bullen drags hay that will feed sheep on Dunmore Property near Pilliga in December. He inherited the 4,000 acres, which have been in his family for 111 years, from his father. He and his wife Krystal haven't been able to plant wheat and barley in recent years. Gus has sought off-farm employment as a fencing contractor

Health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PHOTOGRAPHS BY ZACHARY ZAVISLAK FOR TIME

LONGEVITY

THE BEST MEDICINE

DOCTORS ARE EMBRACING CREATIVE WAYS TO USE FOOD TO IMPROVE HEALTH AND PREVENT DISEASE

BY ALICE PARK

▲

FISH

Certain fish are rich in **OMEGA-3** fatty acids

POTENTIAL BENEFITS

Omega-3 oils can **REDUCE BLOOD PRESSURE** and inhibit growth of plaques in arteries

WHEN TOM SHICOWICH'S TOE STARTED FEELING numb in 2010, he brushed it off as a temporary ache. At the time, he didn't have health insurance, so he put off going to the doctor. The toe became infected, and he got so sick that he stayed in bed for two days with what he assumed was the flu. When he finally saw a doctor, the physician immediately sent Shicowich to the emergency room. Several days later, surgeons amputated his toe, and he ended up spending a month in the hospital to recover.

Shicowich lost his toe because of complications of Type 2 diabetes as he struggled to keep his blood sugar under control. He was overweight and on diabetes medications, but his diet of fast food and convenient, frozen processed meals had pushed his disease to life-threatening levels.

After a few more years of trying unsuccessfully to treat Shicowich's diabetes, his doctor recommended that he try a new program designed to help patients like him. Launched in 2017 by the Geisinger Health System at one of its community hospitals, the Fresh Food Farmacy provides healthy foods—heavy on fruits, vegetables, lean meats and low-sodium options—to patients in Northumberland County, Pennsylvania, and teaches them how to incorporate those foods into their daily diet. Each week, Shicowich, who lives below the federal poverty line and is food-insecure, picks up recipes and free groceries from the Farmacy's food bank and has his nutrition questions answered and blood sugar monitored by the dietitians and health care managers assigned to the Farmacy. In the year and a half since he joined the program, Shicowich has lost 60 lb., and his A1C level, a measure of his blood sugar, has dropped from 10.9 to 6.9, which means he still has diabetes but it's out of the dangerous range. "It's a major, major difference from where I started from," he says. "It's been a life-changing, lifesaving program for me."

Geisinger's program is one of a number of groundbreaking efforts that finally consider food a critical part of a patient's medical care—and treat food as medicine that can have as much power to heal as drugs. More studies are revealing that people's health is the sum of much more than the medications they take and the tests they get—health is affected by how much people sleep and exercise, how much stress they're shouldering and, yes, what they are eating at every meal. Food is becoming a particular focus of doctors, hospitals, insurers and even employers who are frustrated by the slow progress of drug treatments in reducing food-related diseases like Type 2 diabetes, heart disease, hypertension and even cancer. They're also encouraged by the growing body of research that supports the idea that when people eat well, they stay healthier and are more likely to control chronic diseases and perhaps even avoid them altogether. "When you prioritize food and teach people how to prepare healthy meals, lo and behold, it can end up being more impactful than medications themselves," says Dr. Jaewon Ryu, interim

president and CEO of Geisinger. “That’s a big win.”

The problem is that eating healthy isn’t as easy as popping a pill. For some, healthy foods simply aren’t available. And if they are, they aren’t affordable. So more hospitals and physicians are taking action to break down these barriers to improve their patients’ health. In cities where fresh produce is harder to access, hospitals have worked with local grocers to provide discounts on fruits and vegetables when patients provide a “prescription” written by their doctor; the Cleveland Clinic sponsors farmers’ markets where local growers accept food assistance vouchers from federal programs like WIC as well as state-led initiatives. And some doctors at Kaiser Permanente in San Francisco hand out recipes instead of (or along with) prescriptions for their patients, pulled from the organization’s Thrive Kitchen, which also provides low-cost monthly cooking classes for members of its health plan. Hospitals and clinics across the country

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have also visited Geisinger's program to learn from its success.

But doctors alone can't accomplish this food transformation. Recognizing that healthier members not only live longer but also avoid expensive visits to the emergency room, insurers are starting to reward healthy eating by covering sessions with nutritionists and dietitians. In February, Blue Cross Blue Shield of Massachusetts began covering tailored meals from the nonprofit food program Community Servings for its members with congestive heart failure who can't afford the low-fat, low-sodium meals they need. Early last year, Congress assigned a first ever bipartisan Food Is Medicine working group to explore how government-sponsored food programs could address hunger and also lower burgeoning health care costs borne by Medicare when it comes to complications of chronic diseases. "The idea of food as medicine is not only an idea whose time has come," says Dr. Dariush Mozaffarian, a cardiologist and the dean of the Friedman School of Nutrition Science and Policy at Tufts University. "It's an idea that's absolutely essential to our health care system."

ASK ANY DOCTOR how to avoid or mitigate the effects of the leading killers of Americans and you'll likely hear that eating healthier plays a big role. But knowing intuitively that food can influence health is one thing, and having the science and the confidence to back it up is another. And it's only relatively recently that doctors have started to bridge this gap.

It's hard to look at health outcomes like heart disease and cancer that develop over long periods of time and tie them to specific foods in the typical adult's varied diet. Plus, foods are not like drugs that can be tested in rigorous studies that compare people who eat a cup of blueberries a day, for example, with those who don't to determine if the fruit can prevent cancers. Foods aren't as discrete as drugs when it comes to how they act on the body either—they can contain a number of beneficial, and possibly less beneficial, ingredients that work in divergent systems.

Doctors also know that we eat not only to feed our cells but also because of emotions, like feeling happy or sad. "It's a lot cheaper to put someone on three months of statins [to lower their cholesterol] than to figure out how to get them to eat a healthy diet," says Eric Rimm, a professor of epidemiology and nutrition at the Harvard T.H. Chan School of Public Health. But drugs are expensive—the average American spends $1,400 a year on medications—and if people can't afford them, they go without, increasing the likelihood that they'll develop complications as they progress to severe stages of their illness, which in turn forces them to require more—and costly—health care. What's more, it's not as if the medications are cure-alls; while deaths from heart disease are declining, for example, the most recent report from the American Heart Association showed that the prevalence of obesity increased from 30.5% in 1999–2000 to 37.7% in 2013–2014, and 40% of adults have high total cholesterol.

What people are eating contributes to those stubborn trends, and making nutrition a bigger priority in health care instead of an afterthought may finally start to reverse them. Although there aren't the same types of rigorous trials proving food's worth that there are for drugs, the data that do exist, from population-based studies of what people eat, as well as animal and lab studies of specific active ingredients in food, all point in the same direction.

The power of food as medicine gained scientific credibility in 2002, when the U.S. government released results of a study that pitted a diet and exercise program against a drug treatment for Type 2 diabetes. The Diabetes Prevention Program compared people assigned to a diet low in saturated fat, sugar and salt that included lean protein and fresh fruits and vegetables with people assigned to take metformin to lower

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blood sugar. Among people at high risk of developing diabetes, those taking metformin lowered their risk of actually getting diabetes by 31% compared with those taking a placebo, while those who modified their diet and exercised regularly lowered their risk by 58% compared with those who didn't change their behaviors, a near doubling in risk reduction.

Studies showing that food could treat disease as well soon followed. In 2010, Medicare reimbursed the first lifestyle-based program for treating heart disease, based on decades of work by University of California, San Francisco, heart expert Dr. Dean Ornish. Under his plan, people who had had heart attacks switched to a low-fat diet, exercised regularly, stopped smoking, lowered their stress levels with meditation and strengthened their social connections. In a series of studies, he found that most followers lowered their blood sugar, blood pressure and cholesterol levels and also reversed some of the blockages in their heart arteries, reducing their episodes of angina.

In recent years, other studies have shown similar benefits for healthy eating patterns like the Mediterranean diet—which is high in good fats like olive oil and omega-3s, nuts, fruits and vegetables—in preventing repeat events for people who have had a heart attack. “It's clear that people who are coached on how to eat a Mediterranean diet high in nuts or olive oil get more benefit than we've found in similarly conducted trials of statins [to lower cholesterol],” says Rimm. Researchers found similar benefit for people who have not yet had a heart attack but were at higher risk of having one.

Animal studies and analyses of human cells in the lab are also starting to expose why certain foods are associated with lower rates of disease. Researchers are isolating compounds like omega-3s found in fish and polyphenols in apples, for example, that can inhibit cancer tumors' ability to grow new blood vessels. Nuts and seeds can protect parts of our chromosomes so they can repair damage they encounter more efficiently and help cells stay healthy longer.

IF FOOD IS INDEED MEDICINE, then it's time to treat it that way. In his upcoming book, *Eat to Beat Disease,* Dr. William Li, a heart expert, pulled together years of accumulated data and proposes specific doses of foods that can treat diseases ranging from diabetes to breast cancer. Not all doctors agree that the science supports administering food like drugs, but he's hoping the controversial idea will prompt more researchers to study food in ways as scientifically rigorous as possible and generate stronger data in coming years. “We are far away from prescribing diets categorically to fight disease,” he says. “And we may never get there. But we are looking to fill in the gaps that have long existed in this field with real science. This is the beginning of a better tomorrow.”

▲

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And talking about food in terms of doses might push more doctors to put down their prescription pads and start going over grocery lists with their patients instead. So far, the several hundred people like Shicowich who rely on the Fresh Food Farmacy have lowered their risk of serious diabetes complications by 40% and cut hospitalizations by 70% compared with other diabetic people in the area who don't have access to the program. This year, on the basis of its success so far, the Fresh Food Farmacy is tripling the number of patients it supports.

Shicowich knows firsthand how important that will be for people like him. When he was first diagnosed, he lost weight and controlled his blood sugar, but he found those changes hard to maintain and soon saw his weight balloon and his blood-sugar levels skyrocket. He's become one of the program's better-known success stories and now works part time in the produce section of a supermarket and cooks nearly all his meals. He's expanding his cooking skills to include fish, which he had never tried preparing before. “I know what healthy food looks like, and I know what to do with it now,” he says. “Without this program, and without the support system, I'd probably still be sitting on the couch with a box of Oreos.”

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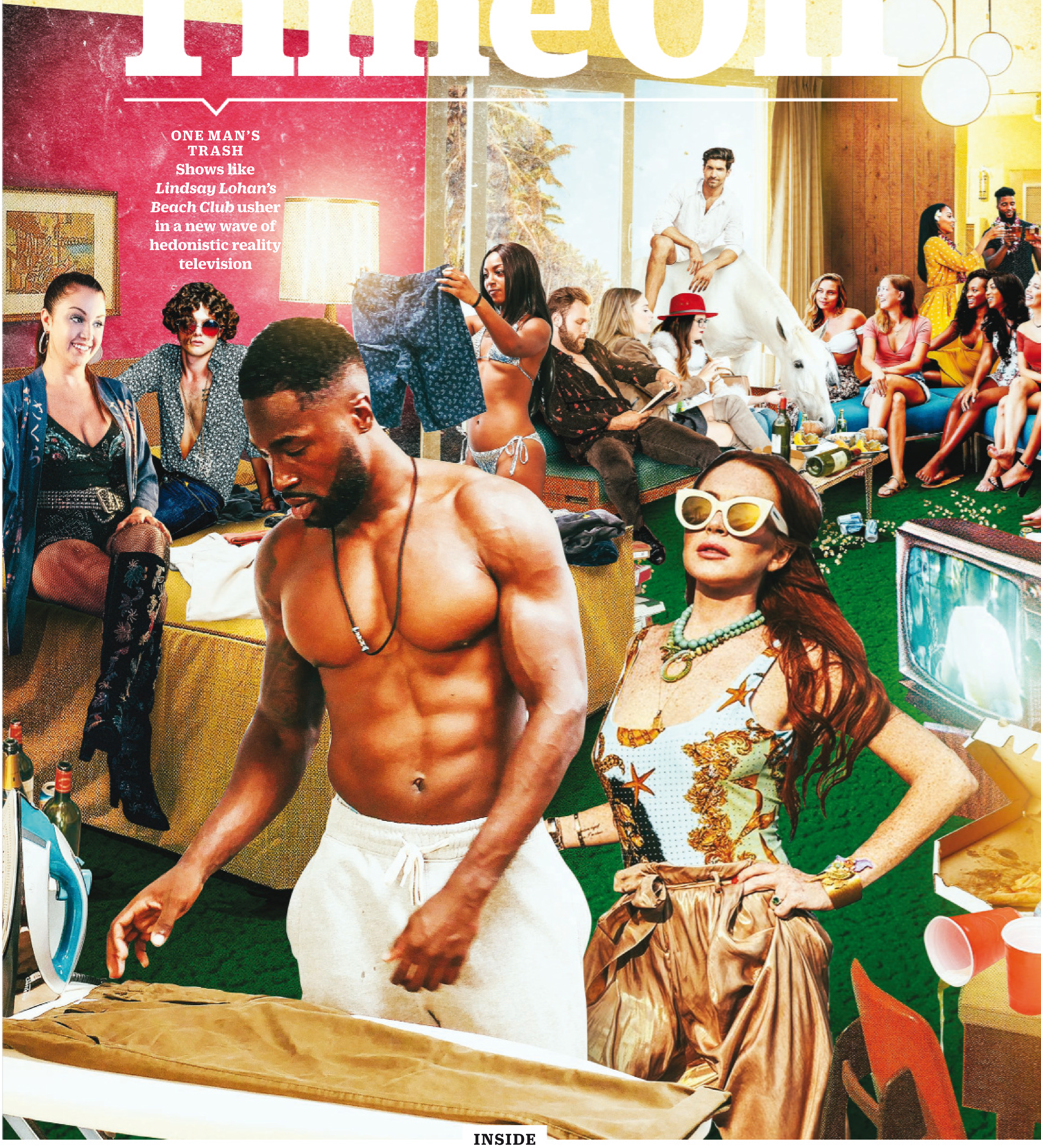


ONE MAN'S TRASH
Shows like *Lindsay Lohan's Beach Club* usher in a new wave of hedonistic reality television

INSIDE

A PROVOCATIVE NEW DOCUMENTARY SERIES AIMS FOR THE BRO-JUGULAR

PAMELA ADLON'S ACCLAIMED SERIES BETTER THINGS *RETURNS—WITHOUT LOUIS CK*

WRITER PATRICK RADDEN KEEFE SOLVES AN INFAMOUS IRISH COLD CASE

ILLUSTRATIONS BY JESSE LENZ FOR TIME

TELEVISION

Trashy reality TV is back, baby!

By Judy Berman

LINDSAY LOHAN'S BEACH CLUB IS A GIFT FROM THE gods of trashy reality TV. It's a repugnant yet addictive confluence of fame and infamy, spontaneity and contrivance, hedonism and consequences, aesthetic beauty and interpersonal ugliness. Among the schlocky treasures this new MTV series offers are a house—sorry, villa—full of hot young "VIP ambassadors" who are often half naked as hosts at the titular establishment, stunning Greek seascapes, lots of booze and, of course, tabloid magnet Lohan herself as ringmistress. There's even a breakout jerk, Brent, a hunky, type-A narcissist who meets, insults, dates and splits with poor, pretty Sara within the first five episodes. The only alleged adults in sight are Lohan and her brusque business partner Panos Spentzos, mercurial bosses who bring about as much expertise to the management of humans as teenagers babysitting their younger siblings.

> **'I have no emotion when it comes to money and business.'**
>
> **LINDSAY LOHAN,** on her MTV show *Lindsay Lohan's Beach Club*

This show is a hit. *Beach Club* premiered, in January, as one of the top five new cable shows of the 2018–19 season among viewers 18 to 34. This is a surprise only insomuch as the series feels like a throwback to the early 2000s, when so many popular reality shows had no higher aim than to satiate viewers clamoring to watch rich, sexy, sorta-famous or simply exhibitionistic people hook up and antagonize each other. While this subgenre never stopped thriving on channels like Bravo, E! and VH1, it had been on the wane for most of the current decade. Even *The Real World,* which accidentally pioneered the format on the more experimental MTV of the '90s, disappeared in 2017.

But in recent months, the exuberantly vapid reality show has shown signs of making a comeback—albeit one tailored to a new generation that values representational diversity. As *Beach Club* flourishes, networks are rebooting classic trash, from *Temptation Island* to *Wife Swap* to *Paradise Hotel.* Netflix has been launching Bravo-style docu-soaps *(Made in Mexico, Westside, Yummy Mummies),* plus an international array of dating shows: Australia's *Back With the Ex,* Japan's *Ainori Love Wagon,* New York City–based *Dating Around.* Meanwhile, *The Real World* will have a second life on Facebook Watch, where an Atlanta season is in the works.

THE MOST CLEAR-CUT REASONS for this resurgence are financial. Unscripted TV doesn't rely on big-name actors (five *Big Bang Theory* cast members earned roughly $20 million apiece last year), writers' rooms or sets constructed from scratch, so it's cheap to make. That's crucial now that a rapidly expanding television landscape has fragmented audiences and decimated ratings, even as the survival of cable brands—whose syndicated reruns can't compete with the robust libraries of streaming services—depends on original content.

Reality shows are becoming the best option for channels like MTV, A&E and WGN, which have largely abandoned scripted fare of late, citing prohibitively high costs. Broadcast networks desperate for real-time eyeballs have kept reality competitions from *Survivor* to *The Bachelor* alive, despite declining ratings. ABC even revived Fox's *American Idol* two years after its 2016 cancellation; Fox responded with this winter's goofy *The Masked Singer,* which proved the family-friendly talent-show format could still yield a genuine hit. For Netflix, which has spent the past few years stockpiling original content, developing bingeable unscripted fluff (or licensing it from abroad) is a no-brainer.

The rise, fall and rebirth of trash: a timeline

1992
MTV inadvertently invents trashy reality TV as we know it with *The Real World.*

2001–03
Reality dominates broadcast networks. Paris Hilton thrives.

APRIL 2004
Fox takes reality trash too far with its sadistic pageant *The Swan.*

SEPTEMBER 2004
On MTV, *Laguna Beach* begets *The Hills, The City* and Speidi.

I ♥ POLICEMEN
PAIX

Yet a cash-strapped industry doesn't quite explain why the most egregiously frivolous brand of nonfiction programming has come roaring back. The first age of reality trash coincided with the larger reality-TV revolution that took place just after the turn of the millennium. That boom was an extension of the tabloid-fueled cable news cycle that drove pop culture in the '90s, leading to shows like the Paris Hilton vehicle *The Simple Life* and *The Hills,* which found a way to capitalize on both schadenfreude and aspirational lifestyle porn at once. Subconsciously, the trauma of 9/11 and the ensuing war on terror may also have driven us to escape into rich-people problems.

By the mid-2000s, the market was oversaturated with reality stars who weren't here to make friends, and—with notable exceptions including Bravo's *Real Housewives* and E!'s Kardashian empires—tastes shifted. Reality TV had gotten decadent in its cruelty: Fox's *The Swan* made over so-called ugly ducklings with extreme plastic surgery, while Bravo's *Boy Meets Boy* tricked a gay man into pursuing straight pseudo-suitors.

Most reality shows that endured—*Project Runway, The Amazing Race, The Great British Baking Show, The Voice, RuPaul's Drag Race*—turned out to have redeeming social or artistic value. At the same time, ambitious dramas took root on cable, quelling fears that scripted television was doomed to extinction. New vogues emerged in nonfiction television, from the rise of HGTV to an explosion of true-crime docuseries.

AT THE RISK of stating the obvious, Americans are once again living through tumultuous times. Exhausted by the pace and tenor of news in the Trump era, collapsing onto the couch with *Lindsay Lohan's Beach Club* feels easier than overtaxing my brain with a thoughtful show like *True Detective.* As this decade winds down, trashy reality TV might also be one more reboot of an early-2000s trend, like Juicy Couture tracksuits and flip phones, riding the 20-year nostalgia cycle back to relevance.

Yet these shows have returned at a more sensitive and media-savvy moment. A lack of diversity is now a cardinal sin; even the notoriously white *Bachelor* franchise finally cast a black bachelorette, Rachel Lindsay, in 2017. Casting tropes that force participants into stereotypical roles based on their identities (rightly) spark social-media outrage. If *The Swan* and *Boy Meets Boy* were announced today, they'd face immediate backlash for their retrograde premises.

As a result, reality trash 2.0 is more conscious of whom it's representing, and how. Most of these tweaks are superficial: *Temptation Island,* a Fox creation that resurfaced on USA in January, tests relationships—and stokes jealousy—by separating four couples into male and female groups, then moving them in with scantily clad singles of the opposite gender. The format precludes same-sex pairs, but there are fewer white faces and one interracial couple this time. *Made in Mexico,* which follows Mexico City socialites, is framed as a rejoinder to President Trump's views on Latin America (though its implication that viewers should have more empathy for the idle rich than for huddled masses rubs me the wrong way). Among multiple queer characters on *Beach House* is Mike, a bartender whose bisexuality is never framed as shocking.

Of all the shows in this cohort I've sampled, only *Dating Around* felt like something different. In each of six episodes, Netflix's take on the syndicated dating games of the early 2000s—shows like *Blind Date, elimiDATE, The 5th Wheel*—sends someone looking for love on five blind dates. Later, the lead decides whom to meet for a second date. Though they're almost all as conventionally attractive as the genre requires, pairings are gay and straight; daters encompass a range of races and religions. Refreshingly, any wine-fueled drama tends to get overshadowed by the pleasures of watching people get to know each other in good faith. A particularly sweet episode centers on an aging widower, Leonard, who's just getting back in the game.

It's probably a good thing that sleazy reality TV has committed to representing horny, angry, self-absorbed people of all backgrounds and identities. If this evolution is unlikely to merit widespread praise, at least it's helping to make entertainment more diverse. But it takes more than superficial inclusion to transcend trash. Good nonfiction television should illuminate something about the human experience, instead of just wasting time between hookups and fistfights. It's a distinction worth making, even if we don't quit the junky stuff. And in this economy? I wouldn't dream of it. □

PREVIOUS PAGE: TEMPTATION ISLAND: USA; LINDSAY LOHAN'S BEACH CLUB: MTV; DATING AROUND, MADE IN MEXICO, WESTSIDE: NETFLIX; THESE PAGES: PARIS HILTON: GETTY IMAGES; LINDSAY LOHAN'S BEACH CLUB: MTV; TEMPTATION ISLAND: USA; THE REAL WORLD, THE SWAN, LAGUNA BEACH, THE REAL HOUSEWIVES, KEEPING UP WITH THE KARDASHIANS, PROPERTY BROTHERS: EVERETT

2006
The Real Housewives remake Bravo in their own image.

2007
E! kicks off *Keeping Up With the Kardashians.* An empire gets its queen.

2011
Property Brothers makes HGTV reality's new comfort food.

2019
Lindsay Lohan, *Temptation Island* and more revive trashy reality for a new generation.

MUSIC

Singing the pain

By John Lingan

IN EARLY 2018, FOLK-MUSIC TORCHBEARER Rhiannon Giddens decamped to Breaux Bridge, La., with minstrelsy on her mind. In her early work with the Grammy-winning bluegrass band the Carolina Chocolate Drops and across two solo albums and a role in the TV series *Nashville,* Giddens has been as much a historian as a singer and banjoist. She's won acclaim, including a MacArthur Foundation "genius" grant, for her attention to America's folk traditions, but she felt that minstrelsy, with its troubled history, remained relatively unexplored.

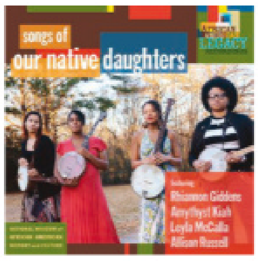
"It had such a gargantuan effect on American culture, world culture," Giddens says of the genre, which took root in the 1820s and '30s. "This was the first time that tunes were written down. So I've been going at it from a musicology point of view, rather than looking at it as blackface and running screaming from the room."

For the Louisiana trip, she enlisted three of her favorite contemporary musicians: Leyla McCalla, Allison Russell and Amythyst Kiah, all, like Giddens, black women with a focus on the banjo and early American string-music traditions. All four brought original songs to the sessions, and their collaboration quickly expanded beyond its initial historical focus. The resulting album, *Songs of Our Native Daughters,* which comes out on Feb. 22, has one foot in acoustic minstrel sounds but is also a tribute to the strength and resilience of black women in the antebellum era.

"We talked a lot about the experience of the black family and how divided black families were during slavery," says McCalla. "So many children taken away from their mothers, so many husbands and wives torn apart, so many tragedies. Having the space to talk about that in 2018, to feel the reverberations in our bodies—that became one of the central points of this project."

"Moon Meets the Sun," for example, is a joyous one-chord roundelay led by Giddens' rolling banjo lines, played on a replica of an 1858 instrument. "Ah, you steal our children but we're dancing/ Ah, you make us hate our very skin but we're dancing," she sings, joined at intervals by her bandmates' warm harmonies.

The group echoes this perseverant attitude in songs like "Quasheba, Quasheba," Russell's tribute to an ancestor who suffered during the slave trade, and "Polly Ann's Hammer," Kiah's up-tempo story of John Henry's loyal, powerful widow. "Black Myself" is a funky statement of purpose that mistreatment isn't the full story of African-American experience: "I'm surrounded by many loving arms 'cause I'm black myself/ I'll stand my ground and smile in your face 'cause I'm black myself."



Giddens, on the new album: "I've been living in slavery time for a long time, and where I'm moving now is, 'Look at what we've done.'"

FOR *OUR NATIVE DAUGHTERS,* their music is an act of reclamation. The banjo, after all, is an African instrument, and the original minstrel songs—some of which, like "Oh! Susannah," remain American standards—were a blend of European and slave traditions. As the 19th century progressed, the style effectively became America's first pop music.

Giddens studied the rise of minstrel bands, which became a phenomenon in the 1850s when groups comprising banjo, percussion and fiddle toured the world, performing in blackface. Those bands' impact was so great that when the Fisk Jubilee Singers made it to Europe in 1871, the first African-American group to do so, they weren't considered "authentically" black.

"It's a chance to tell stories that have not been talked about enough through the lens of traditional music," McCalla says. "And since we are black women in a largely white space, to be making this statement is really important." In 2018, the group couldn't have had any idea that their album would come out in a moment when blackface photographs scandalized Virginia politics. *Songs of Our Native Daughters* offers a glimpse of the strength and solidarity necessary in dark times.

GIDDENS: SHAHAR AZRAN—GETTY IMAGES; THIS GIANT BEAST THAT IS THE GLOBAL ECONOMY: AMAZON; BETTER THINGS: FX

TELEVISION

It's the economy, bro

Just two months after his Dick Cheney biopic *Vice* hit theaters, director Adam McKay has returned to the intersection of money, politics and comedy with *This Giant Beast That Is the Global Economy,* a docuseries coming to Amazon Prime on Feb. 12. In each of the eight episodes, host Kal Penn travels the world—from money-laundering mecca Cyprus to a Thai rubber plantation—investigating a different topic related to global capitalism.

It's a laudable project, but *Beast* panders to McKay's liberal-bro base just as gleefully as *Vice,* 2015's *The Big Short* and the rest of his filmography. At one point, Penn names a shell company "69 Brothers." A muddled episode whose title poses the question"Are Rich People Dicks or Do Dicks Get Rich?" ends with an inexplicably long, dull tour of a sex-toy factory. None of this stuff qualifies as offensive, by itself; I was more disappointed by how few women experts McKay interviewed. The humor is just too stupid to be funny to any sober person over age 22.

There's a fine line between keeping viewers entertained and condescending to them, and *Beast* too often ends up on the wrong side of it. Maybe McKay thinks that the only way to make current events interesting is to dumb them down and raunch them up for the frat-party set. The trouble is, by embracing that audience, he's bound to alienate too many others. —*J.B.*

TELEVISION

Things just keeps getting better

By Judy Berman

PAMELA ADLON'S ALTER EGO SAM FOX, the heroine of Adlon's semiautobiographical FX comedy *Better Things,* is a woman who says what's on her mind. An actor and divorced mom of three, Sam struggles to maintain a career while voicing hard truths, caring for her close but ungrateful family and sometimes dating. It's not an innovative premise, but in the first two seasons, scripts artfully mingled shaggy story lines, earthy humor and lofty ideas about family and fulfillment.

This delicate balance looked especially precarious when Adlon cut ties with co-creator Louis CK in 2017, after multiple women accused him of sexual misconduct. Though her show had always been more humane than his bleak *Louie,* both had deceptively loose structures, with episodes split into vignettes that culminated in cathartic set pieces. Since Adlon had also been integral to *Louie,* it wasn't sexist to wonder if their collaboration was essential to both entertainers' successes.

CK's absence is indeed palpable in Season 3, which premieres on Feb. 28—those climactic scenes were his specialty. In early episodes, Sam toils on an unsafe set and suffers the indignities of perimenopause. Her eldest daughter Max (Mikey Madison) gets homesick at college. Middle child Frankie (Hannah Alligood) takes out anger over their parents' divorce on Sam. Instead of escalating to an apex, these episodes meander.

But something changes around episode 4: themes that have been slow to develop mature into full story lines. This lends a remarkable naturalism to the season; you don't notice narratives coalescing until they're fully formed. Encompassing menstruation, constipation and a colonoscopy, the masterful episode "Toilet" is a symbolic flushing-out. (While some writers use candor about bodies to shock, Adlon's reads as simple honesty.)

It's a more cinematic mode than TV tends to favor; a weekly break between each new episode isn't ideal. But Adlon's approach jibes with her admission that she admires the stark realism of indie-film pioneer John Cassavetes. Like him, she's making choices bold enough to alienate some viewers—ones that introduce a voice strong enough to stand on its own. ◻

'God willing or God forbid there's a Season 4.'

ADLON, in *Variety*

Sam Fox (Adlon) with daughter Max

QUICK TALK

Patrick Radden Keefe

After four years researching one of the most notorious killings in Northern Ireland's history, the New Yorker *staff writer made a shocking discovery that may have actually solved the crime. His new book,* Say Nothing, *claims to unmask the person who fatally shot Jean McConville, a widowed mother of 10, in 1972 during the sectarian conflict known as the Troubles.*

Why did this case intrigue you? The idea that you could look at this one act, this one murder, and at the way in which it tied together a handful of desperate characters who were both victims and perpetrators—and then the way in which it continued to reverberate over the decades—seemed like an opportunity to tell an intimate story that hopefully can also tell a larger story about the course of the Troubles.

Jean McConville

In the book, you describe discovering the identity of the killer by matching up a seemingly unimportant detail mentioned by two people over the course of your research. What did that moment feel like? I've been doing this now, reporting and writing, for the better part of two decades, and I've never had an experience quite like that. It took my breath away. The strangeness of it was that I wasn't looking for that answer. I was finishing the book, and to me it didn't feel like there was any nagging sense of *Oh boy, we have to figure out who the shooter is.* [But] the part of me that cares about truth and accountability is happy to be naming somebody who hadn't been associated with this before and who created a lot of misery for the family.

How did the McConville children react to the bombshell? They were surprised. What was stunning for me and similarly quite surprising for the McConville children was that it turned out to be somebody who was in the picture all along.

Were you trying to pass along a message about human dignity? You could argue there are a few heroes in the book, in pretty minor roles, but I'd say there aren't any unequivocal villains. I really wanted to look at this conflict in the way in which it took ordinary people and thrust them into very extreme situations, and look at the things they did in the heat of the moment and the way they felt about those actions when they looked back at them. Part of what was interesting to me was the astonishing resilience of people who have passed through this unbelievable crucible in history.

Why tell this story now? It is a history story, but that history continues to be so explosive in the present day. It was an opportunity to collapse the past and the present.

—MELISSA CHAN

NONFICTION

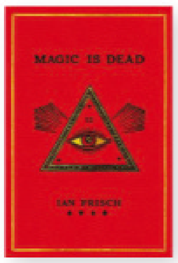
Culture collection

Pop-culture fans don't need to turn to the screen to get their fill. These new books delve into Hollywood and beyond, taking a closer look at movies, music and magic.

MAGIC IS DEAD

My Journey Into the World's Most Secretive Society of Magicians

Ian Frisch

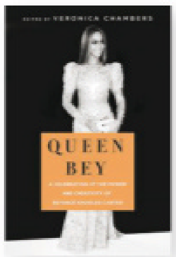


Frisch, a journalist, is welcomed into the 52, a not-so-secret society for the world's brightest magicians. He shares stories from his time spent with the group's magnetic members as he recalls his own introduction to the art of deceit when, as a child, he accompanied his mother to casinos and watched her play poker. *(Feb. 26)*

QUEEN BEY

A Celebration of the Power and Creativity of Beyoncé Knowles-Carter

Veronica Chambers

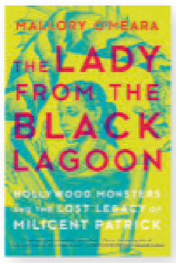


Actors, academics and critics unpack the impact of a megastar in a collection of essays edited by Chambers. The group meditation on one of the world's greatest living icons features pieces by writer-producer Lena Waithe, comedian Kid Fury and scholar Brittney Cooper and examines Beyoncé as a paragon of black female power, the model she sets for what a modern performer should be and more. *(March 5)*

THE LADY FROM THE BLACK LAGOON

Hollywood Monsters and the Lost Legacy of Milicent Patrick

Mallory O'Meara


MALLORY O'MEARA
THE LADY FROM THE BLACK LAGOON
HOLLYWOOD MONSTERS AND THE LOST LEGACY OF MILICENT PATRICK

Hollywood has long forgotten the legacy of Milicent Patrick, one of the first female animators at Disney and a designer for the 1954 monster movie *Creature From the Black Lagoon.* O'Meara, a screenwriter, producer and fan, sets out to learn what became of the artist. Along the way, she connects Patrick's story to the uneven power dynamics still in place in the modern movie industry. *(March 5)*

—Rachel E. Greenspan

MCCONVILLE FAMILY: TOM JAMIESON—THE NEW YORK TIMES/REDUX; OYEYEMI: LLOYD BISHOP—NBC/GETTY IMAGES

FICTION

A new recipe for old tales

By Nicholas Mancusi

IT WOULD BE IMPOSSIBLE TO DISCUSS *Gingerbread,* the sixth novel from Helen Oyeyemi—named one of *Granta*'s Best Young British Novelists in 2013—without the mention of fairy tales. Just a few of the new book's familiar elements include enchanted confectionery, talking dolls, rumors of a faraway land inaccessible by conventional means and a character with the redolent name of Gretel. And although Oyeyemi, as she has done in her earlier work, subverts these tropes through a contemporary idiom, the novel's real enchantment is its experimentation with storytelling itself.

Gingerbread's jacket copy gamely attempts to describe the plot: three generations of women named the Lees live together in a gold-painted flat in London—Margot, who is the mother of Harriet, who is the mother of the teenage Perdita. Perdita has reached the age of curiosity about the mysteries that surround her family, including the gingerbread recipe that is something like a family legacy or curse, and the land of their supposed origin, Druhástrana (which one character uses Wikipedia to learn is "an alleged nation-state of indeterminable geographic location").

The setup seems simple enough, but it gets trickier from there. In an effort to connect with her Druhástranian roots, Perdita consumes a near fatal amount of the potent titular gingerbread, and it's while she's recovering in bed that Harriet unspools the tale of her flight from her birthplace and from her childhood—a story frequently influenced by the machinations of her friend Gretel (who has two pupils in each eye and first appears at the bottom of a well) and her family. Gretel is part Fairy Godmother, part Wicked Witch, part Tinkerbell. "All that happens when you grow up," she tells Harriet early in their relationship, "is that your ethics get completely compromised and you do extremely dodgy things you never imagined doing, apparently for the sake of others."

It is the project of Oyeyemi's wildly inventive storytelling to superimpose the fantastical over the mundane, reminiscent of filmic attempts such as *The Adventures of Baron Munchausen, The NeverEnding Story* or even *The Princess Bride.* In these stories, or let's call them tales, one can never be confident that one has a sure foot on the narrative, and will have no luck in predicting what might happen next.

The borderless nature of literature allows Oyeyemi to perform these feints and transmogrifications several times per page and undermine confidence in the storytelling method itself. Some words critics have used to describe this technique are *heady, uncanny* and *surreal*—some others might be *confusing* or *frustrating.* These words could also be used to describe the experience of dreaming, a state that Oyeyemi is skilled at evoking. And caught up in this fairy-tale dream state, where nothing is a given, we realize that this book is not only about childhood, but also what it feels like to be a child.

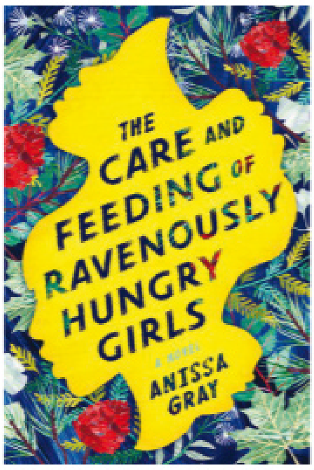
FICTION

Sister stories

When Althea and her husband, restaurant owners in a small Michigan community, are imprisoned for fraud, their family must reshape itself to fill a painful void. In Anissa Gray's highly anticipated debut, *The Care and Feeding of Ravenously Hungry Girls,* the couple's teen daughters are left in the hands of Althea's sisters, each suffering in her own way. Lillian is haunted by demons from her youth, while Viola is separating from her wife and relapsing into bulimia. The aunts must confront their struggles in order to care for their two nieces, both reeling from the sudden change in their lives.

Gray, a journalist, draws on her life experiences, including her struggle with an eating disorder, to develop the central characters in a novel that is already drawing comparisons to Tayari Jones' *An American Marriage.* Moving between the voices of Althea, Lillian and Viola, the author slowly untangles their shared history—a childhood marked by their mother's death, their father's unreliability and Althea's role as caretaker, starting at age 12—to show how collective trauma can affect the next generation. As each set of sisters learns to move forward, Gray lights a path toward empathy and forgiveness.

—Annabel Gutterman



10 Questions

Ray Romano The stand-up comedian and actor on money, family, success and death, as well as some important subjects

After *Everybody Loves Raymond* ended in 2004, viewers didn't see you as often. But now with *Get Shorty,* your Netflix stand-up special and new movie *Paddleton,* our screens are wall-to-wall Romano. What happened? I've been working constantly since *Raymond* ended. It's just stuff that some people see, some people don't. I never stopped doing stand-up. And I've continued to do as much other stuff as I could—or as much as people wanted me.

You were reportedly making $1.7 million an episode by the end of *Raymond.* Does being rich make you more choosy? Yes. Yeah. I enjoyed watching *Parenthood,* and I called the showrunner Jason Katims up. I left a message: "Hey, I'm loving what you're doing and I'm unemployed, and whatever my agent tells you it's going to cost, I will do much better than." And sure enough, they took me up on it.

Is there a threat to your dignity doing that? I wasn't a no-name begging for a part. Although I'm very insecure, so there's no way I thought I belonged on *Parenthood.* And when I was on it, I learned my lesson about looking on the Internet, because for all the people that loved me, there was just as many who said, "What the F is he doing there?!"

Have you ever noticed that a lot of the roles you play are guys whose lives didn't quite work out as they'd hoped? I guess I'm attracted to that kind of story: the insecure guy, the underdog. I'm not going to be playing the super-macho stud. I'm realistic. Yeah, now that you mention it, a lot of these characters are guys who haven't really gotten what they wanted, and are still searching and reaching for something.

After such success, how can you still be that guy? Insecurity is relative. Before I thought my cabdriver hated me, and now I think my limo driver hates me. Look, I think I'm good at stand-up. Am I a great actor? No. I'm learning. Every time I get a new role, I'm petrified and I break out in some kind of rash.

> *'I'M NOT GOING TO BE PLAYING THE SUPER-MACHO STUD. I'M REALISTIC'*

MATT WINKELMEYER—GETTY IMAGES

***Paddleton* is named after an invented ball game. What is it with guys and pointless physical feats?** I don't know, but I'm very competitive. When I golf, I make little bets: *If I don't break 90, I can't watch TV for two days.*

At one point in the movie, your character waits too long to say "I love you." Why is that phrase so hard to say? I grew up never hearing it from my father, but it doesn't flow out of my mouth either. My brother and I played on the same softball team, and we had a hard time even high-fiving each other. I always say if my father hugged me once, I'd be an accountant right now.

In your special, you joke about your genitalia, your sex life, your wife and kids, all in front of them. How do they feel about that? To be honest, they're sometimes a little jealous when they're not in the bit. I'd never do anything they felt uncomfortable about. My wife gives me a long leash; I have to give her credit. She knows it's comedy, and she knows it pays. She's got a movie theater in her backyard. That doesn't pay for itself.

You've been married for 30 years. Is "a long leash" the secret? Listen, here's the thing. I'm in show business. You can't not be a bit of a narcissist and not need attention to be in that business. So the reason this works is because she is a person who (a) doesn't need attention and (b) can understand how I feel about her, even though it's hard for me to outwardly express that. She's the hero here.

Your new movie is about death. How would you like to die? Sniper. A very good sniper. I don't want them to have to come down and check me out.

—BELINDA LUSCOMBE

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